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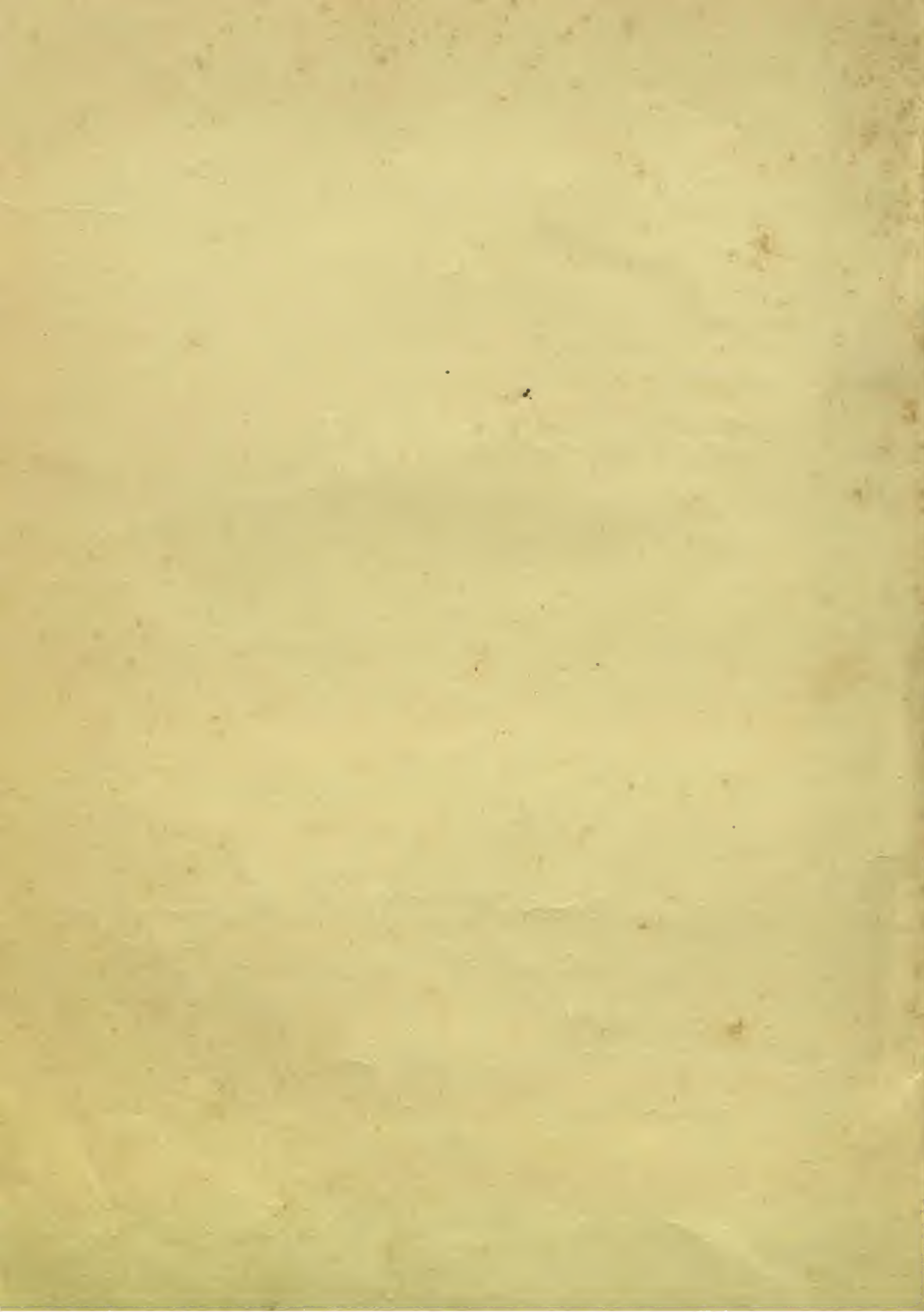
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DEVELOPMENT
OF
Hindu Polity and Political Theories

Part - 2

BY

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Kaṭilya's His Social Ideal and Political Theory, etc. etc.

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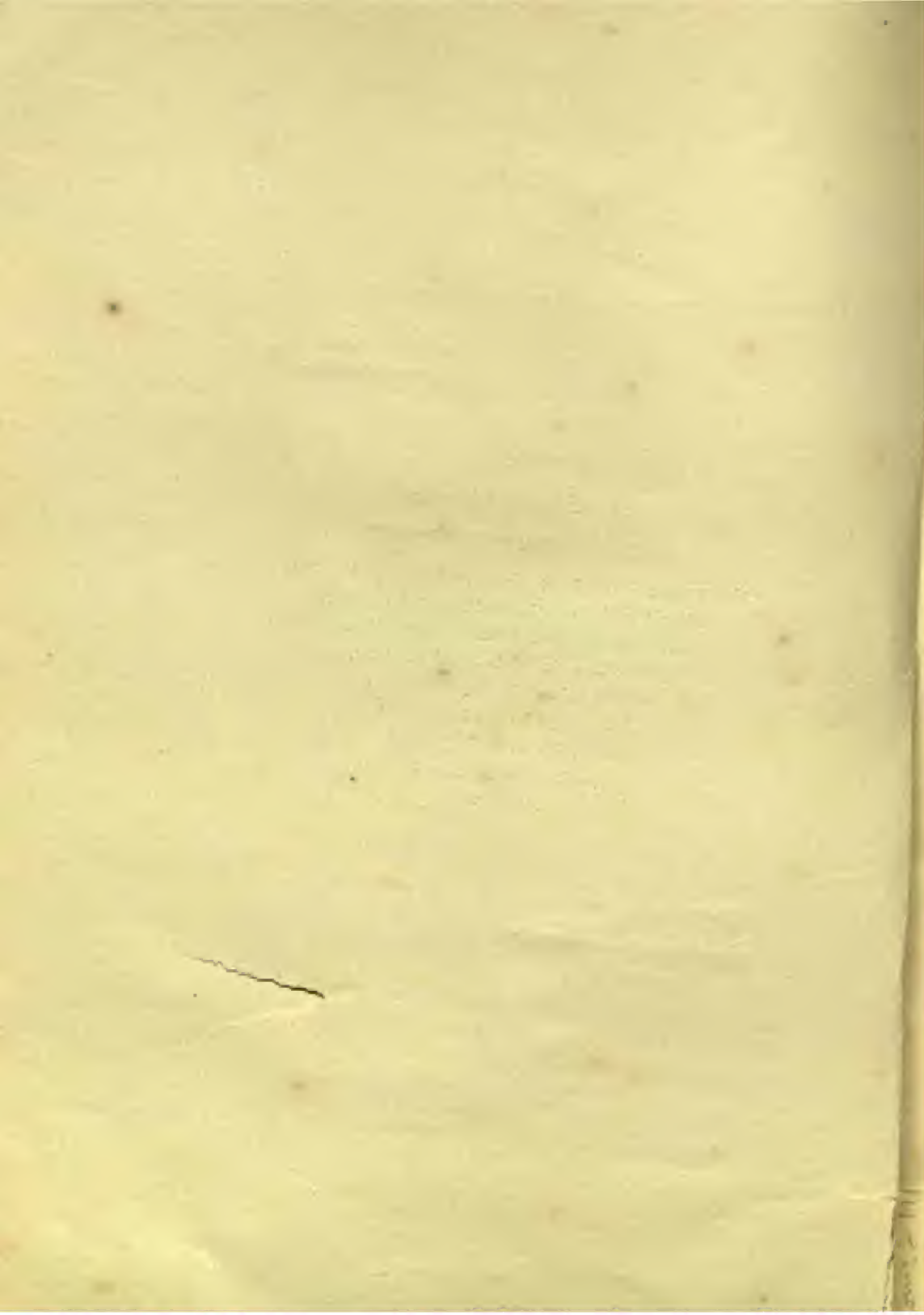
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To
THE SACRED MEMORY
OF

the heroes that have won immortality in their
battles for Hindu Social and Political regenera-
tion, whose glories will awaken future
generations to their sense of duty,
whose spirit will dispel fear and
bring hope for the future and
will guide all in the path of
justice, humanity and
progress.



PREFACE

Since joining the Post Graduate teaching staff, I have had to devote my time to the study of the constitutional history of Hindu India, a subject in which my interest was created by the late Prof. J. N. Das Gupta, B.A. (Oxon), who was our teacher in the M.A. classes of the Presidency College. Since then, I had to associate myself with the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History, and had to work with him in connection with the first series of lectures he delivered. I had also the good fortune of making the acquaintance of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal of Patna whose lectures on Hindu Polity marked practically a new era in the study of the political evolution of Ancient India.

While lecturing to my students, I prepared the manuscript of this book by an elaboration of a synopsis of lectures prepared for their guidance, in which I proposed to give them a brief outline of the political evolution of India, marking the different phases of development, along with the causes and circumstances that contributed to them. A number of such phases of evolution are clearly discernible. The earliest of these was one in which tribal democracy prevailed, and this was pre-eminently so for the Vedic period. Later on, there was a distinct tendency towards centralisation of authority and the growth of regal power, accompanied by a corresponding decay of popular authority. This tendency became stronger every day till from the VIth Century B.C., a movement for the unification of India was inaugurated. The movement for unity culminated in the Maurya Empire which after a time underwent dismemberment owing to various causes. After centuries of disruption there was the rise of the Gupta Empire. Since its downfall, a spirit of local separatism counteracted any further attempt at union and the struggle for dominion continued for ages. After the fall of the Gurjara-pratihāras, this came to be reduced to mere squabbles for dynastic pretensions and ultimately, the period of chivalric anarchy ended with the Mahomedan conquest.

In constructing an account of all these I have started with a consideration of the primitive institutions of the Aryan race, and then passed to the age of the Brāhmanas and of the succeeding one immediately before the rise of the Maurya Empire. Next, I have discussed, the downfall of that Empire, together with the effects of the foreign inroads which disturbed the normal evolution of political life and brought along with it the germs of new ideals and institutions. The reaction which followed and resulted in the rise of the Gupta Empire has been next discussed and then the other succeeding changes and modifications, all these being brought up to the eve of the Moslem conquest of India. Subsequent to that, I have attempted to prove the survival of Hindu institutions during the age of Mussulman rule as well as their modification at the hands of the conquerors. Properly speaking, an account of Hindu political life ought to end here, but, as that will not be complete without an account of the struggles against the foreign conquerors which led to the subsequent resurrection of the Hindus, several chapters have been added with a view to give an account of the successive revivals, the nature of the Hindu-Moslem problem during the earlier age of Turko-Afghan rule, the ideals of the religious reformers like Nānak and Kavir, who looked to the problems of politics from the humanistic and universal point of view, and the dream of Chagatai Imperialism which manifested itself in the political principles of Akbar. This has been supplemented by a brief account of the policy of Aurungzeb and the subsequent revolt and revival of the Hindus, till their dream of restoring the Empire was shattered by a new foreign conqueror.

My original intention was to discuss the evolution of political theories quite separately from the account of successive phases of political life, but, as this stands in the way of realising the interrelation between political movements and theories fostered by them, and as it often makes us underrate the influence of one on the other, I have made it a point to discuss the lines of evolution during a particular period and to give an account of the political ideas of the period just after it. This, I hope, will be a better exposition and more helpful to all interested in the subject.

Both in connection with the survey of political development as well as that of political theories, I have laid emphasis on the evolutionary aspect of the subject matter. I have tried to make my own ideas clear by giving parallel illustrations from the history of other nations and these have been as a rule added at the end of chapters, separated from the general narrative. This has been done with the purpose that our ideas may not be confused by the analogy of developments elsewhere in which we find some elements of similarity but which owing to divergences of time, environment, or political instinct, never tally with one another. It is the more so in India where social and political development has been on lines quite different from those of the West and only a careful enquiry brings home to us the nature of this divergence,—so much so, that it is often difficult to render the ideas expressed by words of Indian vocabulary by using similar ones from the terminology of the West. The word *Polity*, for instance, never connotes the ideas contained in the word *Rāṣṭra* and it is doubtful whether the word *Rājya* can be safely rendered into English by the word *State*.

In regard to political theories—if we are permitted to use that word with reference to Indian speculations—our difficulties are even greater. We are liable not only to be misguided by the analogies of the West but suffer also from the error of rendering Indian words by common European equivalents. Western analogies often make us forget fundamental differences in our system and stand in the way of our representing ideas and concepts which gained ground in this country. As a result of this, it is very often difficult to be conscious of our own peculiarities and most Indian workers in this subject do nothing but read Western ideas into our history.

In undertaking the preparation of this work, I have had the advantage of being preceded by a number of previous workers. Prominent among the works which have already appeared on this subject must be mentioned Mr. Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity*, a similar work by Dr. Narendra Nath Law, and the *First Series of Carmichael Lectures* by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. Mr. Jayaswal's book is a pioneer work on the subject and a store-house of valuable information for future workers. On many points there is room for difference of

opinion, yet the work will hold its place for the amount of erudition displayed and the inspiring narrative of an idealistic historian. Dr. Law's book is also of great value, especially the chapters on Royalty and the fine retrospect appended towards the close. The *First Series of Carmichael Lectures*, will also be of great interest, for the sobriety of judgment displayed in it. In regard to Political Theories, we have the works of Mr. B. K. Sarkar and Dr. U. N. Ghosal, but it is unfortunate that I could not go through the more recent work by Dr. Hillebrandt on the subject.

For this publication, I am deeply indebted to my old friend Mr. P. C. Sen, M. Sc., who not only encouraged the idea of publishing it, but did everything possible to enable me to do the same. In spite of all this, however, the work has been delayed by the press and I regret to offer only the first part of it to my readers. The work had to meet with unforeseen difficulties and it will not be possible to offer the second part before the lapse of another six months. This part, which has already been taken in hand, will contain chapters on the Hindu concept of the state as well as on the principles of Indian social evolution and on Hindu political ideals. A number of chapters and footnotes will be added, discussing important points regarding ancient Indian chronology, the principles of public administration and other allied matters.

NARAYAN CHANDRA BANDYOPADHYAYA

July, 1927.

PREFACE TO PART II

Before offering the second part of *Hindu Polity*, to the public I must apologise to them for the rather unusual delay in its publication. Almost a decade has passed since the first part was issued. The fault is not wholly mine since a train of adverse circumstances retarded the progress of the book through the press. I had not only to contend with a failing health but also to face the repeated breakdown of the first two printing establishments which were entrusted with the printing of the work. At times the difficulties almost appeared insurmountable, and I was tempted to give up the idea of completing it at all. But the kind encouragement of Kumar Dr. Narendra Nath Law, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D. who has almost devoted his life to the cause of education and literary patronage, infused hope in me and enabled me to bring out the book before the public. Some other friends of mine have also rendered valuable assistance by giving me their suggestions and going through the proof-sheets and in this connection I must mention the names of professors Amiya Kumar Sen, M.A., Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D. and Surendra Nath Goswami, M.A. all belonging to the post-graduate teaching staff. They have rendered me invaluable assistance and I cannot forget the help which I have received from them. I regret, however, that in spite of my best efforts there remain many typographical errors and for these I crave the forgiveness of my readers.

My difficulties in compiling the volume has been very great. The data and the material had to be gleaned partly from a large number of original inscriptions and partly from innumerable Sanskrit and Pali works while with regard to Southern India I had to rely on translations and the works of modern historians. In regard to certain topics like the different types of village community or the local administrative machinery of the different provinces and subdivisions of India, I am conscious that I have not been able to do full justice to the subject. The topics are very important and for their proper handling the collaboration of Indian scholars from diffe-

rent provinces is absolutely essential. Many authors and among them we find some of the greatest names—very often commit the blunder of making sweeping statements regarding India as a whole. They often neglect the time-scale and the space-scale and try to formulate theories, not always based on reliable data, but more often the product of their own imagination highly tinged with the ideas and ideals of their own country.

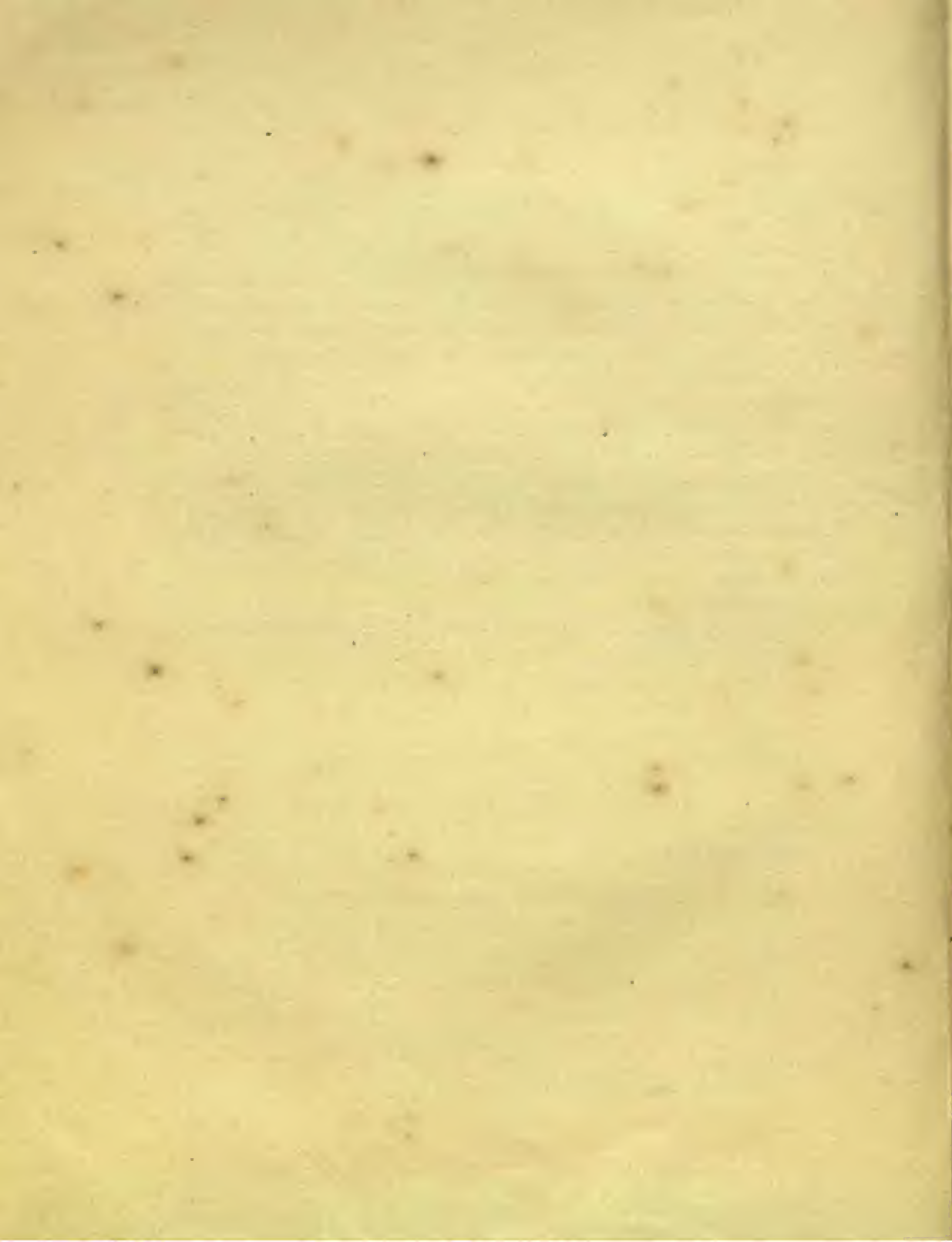
Conscious of my own limitations, I have made an effort to avoid all these and striven hard to come to a more rational interpretation of facts and phenomena. Though I have centred my attention upon the institutional aspect of things, I have made it a point to give an account of these with special reference to the innumerable political happenings and changes and from the chronological point of view as well. In each chapter, I have given a chronology of political events and then added a section devoted to political speculations and ideals. Having traced the causes of the political downfall of the Hindus, I have referred to the conflict between them and the Muslim conquerors and incidentally I have shown how the Muslims themselves came to be subjected to almost the same political forces which had influenced their predecessors in India. The Hindu-Muslim *rapprochement* in the midst of the Hindu struggle for the recovery of independence engages my attention next though I must confess that the subject has not received the attention which it deserves, more especially in an age when an acute though artificial tension exists between the followers of the two religions in India. I have then attempted to give a broad outline of the political history of India upto the period of the establishment of the British as the suzerain power.

Regarding the socio-political evolution of India I have emphasised the forces and factors which contributed to give it a peculiar stamp and I have tried to show that the *motif* was to bring harmony and social equilibrium in the midst of insuperable diversities. This interpretation, though not palatable to many writers, is well supported by the evidence of history. I have taken care not to be influenced by any patriotic bias nor by a desire to vindicate the social system as it now exists. Perhaps in course of time it will

change like all human institutions but with all its faults nobody can deny that it has contributed much to the peace and prosperity of the country. As to the future, I am not lacking in optimism but lament the present tendencies towards discord and disruption. But there are rays of hope and it is a sign of the times that the leaders of public opinion in India are doing their best to bring unity and harmony in the country while many of the Indian ruling princes like their Highnesses the Maharajas of Mysore, Baroda, Travancore and the Maharaja of Nepal are manifesting a keen desire for the uplift of the Indian people, for the removal of social abuses and for the regeneration of India's economic life. Let us hope that the combined efforts of the princes and peoples of India will succeed in creating that great common-wealth which had been the dream of the great rulers of India in the past and which in future will give her her true place in inter-national society. Be it so and be her destiny fulfilled.

NARAYAN CHANDRA BANDYOPADHYAYA

P. 290, Russa Road
Calcutta, 25th December, 1938.



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Rise and Fall of Nandas.

From the sixth century B.C., the chief interest in Indian History centres round the Imperialistic movement, of which we have discussed only the preliminaries. Bimbisāra of Magadha, who lived to a good old age, left an extensive dominion comprising Kāśi and Aṅga in addition to his Magadhan kingdom. Towards the close of his life, he was supplanted on the throne by his son Ajātaśatru, who according to monkish accounts starved his father to death.* According to Buddhist tradition, he defeated his uncle, the Kośala king, and forced him not only to confirm his possession of Kāśi, but made him give his daughter Vajirā in marriage to him.† Next, he waged war on the republicans of Vaiśālī, who had remained a thorn in the flesh of expanding Magadha. The war, of which the prelude only is narrated in the Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta, lasted for sixteen years. The Licchavis, who, according to the Nirayāvalī Sutta, were helped by the Gaṇa-rājas of Kāśi and Kosala, held out for a long time. But, ultimately, the victory lay with the Magadha king, whose

* According to Buddhist accounts, Ajātaśatru, even when in the womb, was actuated by lust and greed. It is said that, when in the womb, he used to gnaw the entrails of his mother, and the latter, too, owing to the presence of the devilish embryo, used to suck the blood of her husband. The name Ajātaśatru has been derived as meaning one who is an enemy even when unborn—"Ajāta eva śatruh".

† As to the war with Pasenadi of Kosala, it is described in the Samyutta-Nikāya, and in the preambles of the Bhaddasāla, Vaḍḍhakisukara and the Haritīmāta Jātakas.

success was due to the use of new implements of war like the Mahāsilakaṇṭaka, and Raha-musala (catapults and heavy battering rams?). The political importance of the Licchavis was broken and their prestige humbled.* (See Uvāsagadasao. App. pp. 7-60.).

According to the Purāṇas, Ajātaśatru was succeeded by four princes of his line e.g. Darśaka, Udāyin, Nandivardhana and Mahānandin. According to some, Udāyin succeeded Ajātaśatru and he in his turn was followed by Darśaka, who is identified by many with the despot Nāgadasaka of Ceylon tradition, deposed by his people. According to another Ceylonese Buddhist tradition, this prince was succeeded by Amātya Śiśunāga, of whose line, his ten sons and some princes e.g. Kākavarṇa, ruled according to the Purāṇas. This theory receives support from the evidence of the Harṣa-carita.

Leaving aside these disputes regarding the order or chronology of these princes, we find that their reigns witnessed great political events. Probably, it was during their time that the struggle with Avanti ended in favour of Magadha. The power and prestige of Avanti had been maintained for a time by some of the Pradyotas and probably they had absorbed the Vatsa kingdom. Śiśunāga or his immediate successors put an end to this kingdom and thus, practically, the whole of North India was brought under the sway of Magadha. The kingdom of Kośala had also declined with the accession of Praśenajit's son, Viruḍhaka who had exterminated the Śākya and probably, soon after his death

* As to the causes of the Vaidāliyan war, there is difference between Buddhist and Jain traditions. According to some Buddhist account, there was a dispute over a mine of precious gems. According to the Jains, the war was due to the Licchavis' harbouring Ajātaśatru's step-brother Vehalla, who, to escape from Ajātaśatru, had taken refuge with his maternal grandfather, Coṭaka, along with some elephants and a pearl necklace which Ajātaśatru coveted.

Kośala came to form part of the Magadha Empire.* (Bud Ind. p. 11.)

The Śaiśunāga dynasty was supplanted by the Nandas. The Nandas. Their founder, according to the Purāṇas, was Mahāpadma, son of the last king of the preceding dynasty by a Sūdra woman. According to the Mahābodhi-vaṃsa, his name was Ugrasena, while according to a Jain tradition, this man was a barber of comely appearance who won over the affections of the queen and then usurped the throne by murdering the king and the royal children. This tradition is supported by the historian Curtius who gives his name as Argammes. (V. Smith—Early His. p. 37).

The Purāṇas describe the founder of the Nandas as the exterminator of all Kṣattriyas, like a second Paraśurāma and the founder of lines of Sūdra kings. (महानन्दिसुतश्चापि शूद्रायां कलिकांशजः । उत्पत्स्यते महापद्मः सर्वं ब्रह्मन्तको नृपः ॥ See Pargiter D.K.A. p. 25). According to the same books, he was to become the master of the world and its "sole ruler" (*ekarāt* and *ekacchatra*). This tradition of the low origin of the Nandas is not, however, confirmed by the Mudrā-rākṣasa account, which contrasts the high birth of the Nandas with the low origin of Candra-gupta.

The Nandas figure prominently in Indian and Ceylonese tradition and their name is surrounded by a mass of fables and legends. All accounts speak of their avariciousness and their hoarded wealth. If we believe in the Mahāvaṃsa tradition (Turnour, Mahāvaṃsa, *tikā*. p. xxxix), this wealth was accumulated by a great fiscal rapacity and the imposition of new taxes on skins, gums, trees and

* Branded as a parricide almost equally with Ajātaśatru, he had signalised his vengeance on his maternal relations by massacring them to a man. The monkish accounts make his retribution proportional to his crime and attribute his end to a sudden lightning stroke. D. L. P. Atthakathā Vol. I. pt. 2.

stones. This may be taken to mean that the Nandas imposed their ownership on mines and forests which, as we have shown, were regarded previously as having been *res nullius*, enjoyable by all (cf. नदीवनवैद्योपभोगाः निष्कराः स्युः — *Vaṣiṣṭha. Dh. Sū.*). They seem also to have regulated weights and measures.

According to the *Purāṇas*, Mahāpadma ruled for 88 years and was succeeded by his sons who ruled conjointly (see *Cāṇakya-kathā*, published by Dr. N. Law, v. 7.) One of these princes was annually selected by lot to act as the ruler while the sovereign authority was vested in all. This rule for two generations lasted according to the *Purāṇas*, for 100 years, but this has been rejected by European scholars as being too long.*

The Nanda Empire evidently comprised the whole of Northern India. The Nandas were very powerful rulers as would appear from the evidence of the Greeks who invaded the Punjab under Alexander. According to Curtius, their army (of *Agrammes* of *Prasii* and *Gangaridae*) consisted of 200,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, 2000 war-chariots and elephants the number of which varied from 3000 to 4000.

The closing years of the Nanda dynasty saw the invasion of Western India by Alexander. Details of the campaigns of this conqueror are not of so much importance for us as the information we derive from the Greeks about the monarchical and non-monarchical states which were as yet free from the influence of the Imperialistic movement in Northern India. The Greek accounts open to us a remarkable and glorious chapter of Indian history inasmuch as they supply us with reliable foreign testimony on the existence of a vigorous republican life in the north-western border.

* The rejection of this hundred years' duration simply on the ground of being too long is rather unmerited. For, we have at least one instance in modern history where the reigns of two princes, father and son, extended over 100 years. e.g. Louis XIII and Louis XIV.—1610-1715—i.e. 105 years

Republican Life in the Western Border.

From the time of Alexander's advance on the borderland of India and his entrance into the upper Kabul valley to the end of his Indian campaigns, the Greeks found a large number of Indian frontier states both monarchical and non-monarchical. The following list of them gives us an insight into the political life of the border region which was as yet free from the influence of the Imperialistic movement: e. g.

- (1) The Aspasioi (the Ásvakas ?) in the valley of the Kunar.
Its king resisted but was routed with the loss of 40,000 prisoners and 250,000 cattle.
- (2) The Guraioi.
- (3) South of the Aspasioi was the small non-Indian (Greek ?) city-state of Nysa.
- (4) The kingdom of Assakenoi (Ásmaka ?) between the Swat and Panjkora rivers. Its capital was Massaga. Its king had an army of 50,000 horse and foot. His fortress was stormed and the garrison of Massaga put to the sword.
- (5) To the south of the Assakenoi was the state of Peucolaites (Skt. Puskalāvātī). Its king Astes (Hasti ?) resisted and was defeated and killed by Hephaistion

Then after their crossing of the Indus at Ohind or Und, 16 miles to the north of Attock, there were the

- (6) Kingdom of Taxila (Takṣasilā)—Its king readily joined the conqueror.
- (7) The kingdom of Abhisāres (Abhisāra). Its king joined Alexander after some hesitation. It lay to the north of Taxila and on the eastern side of the Indus.
- (8) The kingdom of Arsakes, identified with Urasā.
- (9) The kingdom of Poros (senior)—On the other side of the Jhelum and between that river and the Chenab. This king resisted Alexander but was defeated. His gallant conduct made the conqueror restore him his kingdom.
- (10) The Kathaioi—(Kaṭhas?)—Who were a confederacy of tribes and clans with headquarters at Sāngala. They were reputed to have been the most powerful in war. They defended but were defeated and Sāngala was razed to the ground.
- (11) The Glanganikoi—a non-monarchical tribe near the Kathaioi.
- (12) The Gandarioi—ruled by a Poros.
- (13) The Adraistai—on the east of the Ravi. Their capital was the city of Pimprama.
- (14) The kingdom of Sophytes—(Skt. Saubhūti). The strange customs about marriage and the killing of deformed children in this kingdom are mentioned by the Greeks. Some coins of the Sophytes have been found.
- (15) The kingdom of the Phegelas.

- (16) The Siboi—a race of rude warriors. (R.v. Śivas or Skt. Sibi.)
- (17) The Agalassoi—whose force of 45000 horse and foot resisted Alexander. They were put to the sword or sold into slavery. In the central city, they cast their women and children in to fire and rushed to death. A few thousands only were saved.
- (18) The Oxydrakai—between the Sutlej and the Chenab, identified with the republican tribe of Kṣudrakas by the late Sir. R.G. Bhandarkar.
- (19) The Molloi—(Skt. Mālavas).—who were in close relations with the former. The confederacy had 90,000 foot, 10,000 cavalry and 900 chariots. They were defeated and their country ravaged. They were devoted to freedom and had fine very physique.
- (20) The Abastanoi—(or the Ambaṣṭhas ?)—whom we have already seen as a non-monarchical fighting tribe.
- (21) The Xathroi—(Kṣatriyas ?).
- (22) The Ossadioi—Cunningham identified them with the Yaudheyas, but St. Martin identified them with the Vasāti of the Mahābhārata (Sabha Ch. II. 15.) They are mentioned by Kātyāyana and Patañjali (for details, see, Jayaswal. H. Polity P. 75.)
- (23) The Sodrai (Sogdai ?)—May be identified with the Śūdras living on the Indus already mentioned in the Mahābhārata.(?)
- (24) The Massanoi occupying northern Sind.
- (25) The kingdom of Mousikanos—identified with the Mucukarna of the grammarians by Mr. Jayaswal (p. 76). Like the Spartans, they took their meals in common,

pursued the study of Medicine and employed youths in public service instead of slaves.

- (26) The kingdom of Sambos, on the western side of the Indus.
- (27) The kingdom of the Presti.
- (28) The Brachmanoi or the settlement of Brāhmaṇas. (Arrian VI 16. Diodoros XVII. cii.) Mr. Jayaswal rightly identifies them with Patañjali's Brāhmanako nāma Janapada (II). In the Mahābhārata, we find Brāhmaṇa gaṇas like the Bāṭādhānas and Mādhyamakeyas. They gave much trouble to Alexander and incited others against him. They suffered much for their patriotism.
- (29) The Principality of Oxykanos.
- (30) The State of Paṭala.—According to the Greeks, this was situated at the head of the lower Indus delta. The people had a constitution like that of Sparta with dual kings.

In addition to these, there were other such states. For, Greek historians have left on record the existence of a great state on the other side of the Hapion or the Beas which was exceedingly fertile and peopled by men brave in war and living under an excellent internal government. The country was under an aristocratical form of government, "consisting of five thousand councillors each of whom furnished an elephant to the State." The story of this state (which was probably an aristocratic republic and which has been identified by Mr. Jayaswal with the Yaudheyas) and its great fighting force struck terror to the hearts of the followers of the Macedonian conqueror who were already too uneasy from the accounts of the military strength of the Nandas.

No more details are necessary for our purpose, since, what we have is more than sufficient to prove the existence of an organised republican life on the north-western frontier. But for the advent of the Greeks, this scanty account would have been lost, for, with the classical tradition of monarchy as the highest political ideal, nobody would have doubted or cared to put in record the existence of popular sovereignty and of pluralistic political discipline. Unfortunate as the Indians are, the Greek evidence was explained by earlier authorities on Indian history in a quite different way. Even Mr. Mc.Crindle, who had done so much in this respect, took them to mean Indian village-communities in that quarter. But gradually, they came to be properly explained. Some of the states and tribes were recognized and identified by European scholars who by their labours discovered their Sanskrit names.

Earlier indologists suggested some of the Sanskrit names of which the Greek forms were given. Jolly identified the Kathaioi with the Kaṭhas, while the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar explained the Oxydrachoi and Molloi as meaning the Kṣudrakas and the Mālavas (Ind. Ant. Vol. I. p. 29). The Sophytes were identified by M. Sylvain Lévi (*Journal Asiatique* VIII. p. 237).

In more recent times, the subject of these Indian Republics has been taken up in right earnest by Mr. Jayaswal, whose articles on Hindu Polity published in the *Modern Review* (1913) marked practically a new era in the study of the history of Hindu political life. Since then, his work on Hindu Polity has been published and in it, the account of Indian Republics must be regarded as one of the best chapters on Indian History ever written by an Indian. We refer our more inquisitive readers to go through his great work.

When we come to analyse the political condition in the states, we find that—

- (a) the influence of the topography of the Punjab still kept the country divided into many states.
- (b) monarchy of the ordinary type had become established in some states which were very close to the Madhyadeśa e.g. in Taxila, the kingdoms of Poros senior and Poros younger, the kingdom of Saubhtuti, the kingdom of Abhisares and in those of Monsikanos and Sambos in the south.
- (c) in some states, e.g. those of the Kathaioi, Molloi, Oxydrachoi or Abastanoi, republican life was still in its full vigour.
- (d) in the state of Paṭala, a dual monarchy like that of Sparta was established, but, the kings who held command in war were controlled by the Council of Elders.

The constitutions of these states varied. Republics were not of the same type, but show rather different phases and types of evolution. Thus, the Kathaioi had an elected king. The Ambaṣṭhas had three elected generals and a Council of Elders, while the Molloi and Oxydrachoi (the Mālavas and Kṣudrakas) sent a hundred ambassadors showing that they had no King or Consul solely vested with executive authority. Lastly, in that unnamed republic, government was vested in a body so big as comprising five thousand Elders.

From all these accounts, it would appear that these states were survivals of older Vedic institutions in the outer fringe. In some of these, the original limited authority of the ruling tribe-leader had given rise to hereditary monarchy through a process similar to that

in the states of the Madhyadeśa. In other states, monarchy had been displaced and the principle of election had not only survived but the scope of election having been widened, a true republic had come into existence. The Dvairājya at Pāṭala probably arose out of the political union of two ruling tribes with different reigning houses and with the act of union, joint-rule by the two houses was established.

What the nature of these states was is not yet clearly known. There was undoubtedly territorial sovereignty, but probably, in some of these the ruling authority was vested in a class or caste. The mention of the Sudroi or the Brachmanoi points to the same conclusion. But, men of other castes were probably affiliated and were given civic rights.

What the result of the Greek invasion was, we do not exactly know. Some scholars have supposed that the republics ceased to exist. But this is not true, for, the names of many of these occur in inscriptions and monuments for a long time. The Kṣudrakas and Mālavas existed for a long time, as is borne out by Patañjali and other grammarians. We shall discuss their later history in its proper place.

The Maurya Empire.

Hardly had the Conqueror left the Indian soil, when a great political change took place in Magadha. A dynastic revolution occurred at Pāṭaliputra and the throne of the Nandas passed to Candragupta Maurya, who founded a new line of princes bearing his surname. We have no detailed account of this event except the tradition in the Purāṇas, that the Nandas were uprooted by a Brāhmaṇa, Kauṭilya, and he placed Candragupta on the Imperial throne. Indian tradition regards this prince as a scion of the Nandas,* but Ceylonese accounts describe him as a prince of the Moriya clan of Pippalivana. In the face of almost unanimous Indian traditions, this latter story may be totally rejected. The evidence furnished by Indian tradition which regards Candragupta as a scion of the Nandas through a low-caste woman is also confirmed by the statement of Roman historians like Justin, who preserves the account that Sandrocottus was low-born and this goes a long way to explain the epithet Vṛṣala applied to him by Kauṭilya in the Mudrā-Rākṣasa. The Greek account gives us the story of his advent to the camp of Alexander to induce the conqueror to help him in winning the Magadha throne. Whether there is any truth in it we do not know, but if we believe in our own accounts, his elevation was due to the genius of Kauṭilya with whom he had allied with a view to the destruction of the Nandas, their common enemy. The story of Kauṭilya's anger and his

marvellous diplomacy which won over a number of hill-chiefs to the side of his *protege* is too well-known to be repeated here.

On the fall of the Nandas, Candragupta took their place. With the advice and help of his remarkable adviser, the traditions and governmental principles of his predecessors were not only maintained, but these formed the foundations of the greatest Imperial structure of the day. The process of conquest which had begun two centuries earlier now almost attained its completion.

To the mighty Nanda Empire, Candragupta added practically the whole of western India which had as yet maintained its separate political existence. The small hill-states and republican clans of the narrow Punjab-valleys or the inaccessible fastnesses came to form part of the great Empire. Candragupta's task in this quarter was made easy by the Macedonian invasion. Alexander's exploits did what it had already done in the Hellenic world. As in Greece, so in India, the death-knell of tribal independence and of republican city-life was sounded. The provinces of Asia Arachosia, Gedrosia and Paropanisadai (e.g. the districts of Herat, Kandahar and Kabul with the Mekran coastal region) which had passed to the hands of Seleucos came to be part of the Magadha Empire. Properly speaking, we have no account of the war which took place. The garbled versions of Greek historians which do not preserve the story of defeat of the Seleukidan forces simply tell us of a matrimonial alliance between Seleucos and Candragupta. Seleucos, we are told, married his daughter to the Hindu king and, in lieu of 500 elephants, handed over these provinces to the Maurya.

In addition to these provinces, a large part of Western India including Guzerat-Kathiawad came to be a part of the Maurya Empire. This is proved beyond doubt by the Junāgaḍh Rock

inscription of Rudradāman executed in the second century A.D. In the East, Kalinga remained independent and in regard to Bengal proper, we have but little evidence. The extreme south probably retained its independence. There is no positive evidence of its conquest except certain Tamil traditions. (See Kṛṣṇasvāmy Ayengar—*Beginnings of South Indian History*. Ch. II.) According to the Greek accounts, the Pāṇḍyas and Andhras remained very powerful even in Megasthenes' time.

Candragupta ruled for twenty-four years according to the Purāṇas and was succeeded by his son Bindusāra (son of his queen Durdharā according to the Jains), more familiar to the Greek historians by his surname of Amitrachates* or Allitrachadas, which, rendered into Sanskrit, becomes Amitra-khāda or Amitrāghāta, "devourer of enemies." Of his reign, we have no authentic account except some traditions regarding his conquests (Jain *Parīśiṣṭa-parvan*, Jacobi p. 62; *Indian Antiquary* 1875, p. 364) or the story of a revolt in Taxila (*Divyāvadāna*, p. 371). The Greek accounts tell us something about his diplomatic relations with Greek princes of Egypt and Syria and we are informed that these two kings sent two ambassadors named Deimachos and Dionysias to the court of the Hindu Emperor.

After twenty-five or twenty-eight years of reign, Bindusāra was succeeded by his son Aśoka who ascended the throne about the year 273 B.C. (See V. Smith, *Aśoka*, p. 73). According to Indian traditions recorded in the *Divyāvadāna* and the Ceylonese chronicles, his accession was preceded by a sanguinary war of succession in which he killed almost all his brothers including the eldest Sushima as well as the minister

* Athenaios and Strabo. See V. Smith. *History of India*—p. 183.

Rādhagupta. This story, though disbelieved by many European historians (V. Smith, *Early History*, pp. 155), is probably a sound one and shows how these succession disputes were one of the prominent sources of weakness to the Empire which was otherwise founded on a stronger basis. Aśoka did not venture to crown himself, probably, in view of possible rivals and of wars which probably went on, for the next four years. According to Mr. Jayaswal, this delay was due to his not attaining the twenty-fifth year which was the minimum age qualification for the royal office.

Eight years after his coronation, Aśoka who styles himself "*Devānām-priya*"* (a title assumed by his predecessors in imitation probably of Alexander who was regarded as the "favoured of the gods") conquered the powerful state of Kalinga which had maintained its independence and a strong army in spite of the rise of Magadha. In this sanguinary war, about a quarter of a million lost their lives. He also suppressed a revolt at Taxila, where probably the newly conquered tribes and princes continually strove to throw off the Magadhan yoke.

From this period of his life, a reaction set in. He repented of his past, his violence of conduct, his fratricidal wars, and his sanguinary conquests. He came under the influence of pacific teachings which made him look more to the welfare of humanity than any further aggrandisement or bloody conquest. The edicts which he issued for the mental and moral welfare of his subjects show his changed mentality. He became a religious devotee,

* Alexander became a god in the eyes of his followers and his divinity was recognized by the Greeks. The Egyptians regarded him as the son of Ammon. (See Bury, *History of Greece*. PP. 773, and 828.) A similar idea that the king was the friend of Indra, existed in India and is found in some of the Coronation Hymns. (See *supra* P. 97 A. V. IV. 22.) Probably, with the influence of the Greeks, these older ideas in the epithets *Indra-sakhā* and *Indra-priya*, were revived and gave rise to the title *Devānām Priya*.

an admirer of the pacific teachings of traditional Indian morality, and, according to monkish accounts, joined the Buddhist Order. There are great doubts as to whether he became a Buddhist out and out, but this much is certain that the flood-tide of repentance swept away his faith in the Imperial traditions of his forefathers. Henceforth, he came to devote his life to a new type of conquest, which he describes as *Dhamma-vijaya*, hazy ideas of which had floated in the minds of preceding generations. (See *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*—ch. on *Ābaliyasam*; Kauṭilya mentions three types of conquerors, e.g., *Dharma-vijayī*, *Asura-vijayī* and *Lobha-vijayī*.)

With *Dhammavijaya*, a new era dawned in politics. Repentance killed the Empire. Its meaning and purpose was forgotten and henceforth the vast resources at the disposal of the most powerful autocrat of that age came to be devoted to the cause of the moral regeneration of mankind. The claims of world-love predominated, and the political necessity of a vigorous policy at home and abroad was entirely forgotten. Political authority henceforth directed itself towards the furtherance of a cosmopolitan and humanistic ideal of happiness. The ideals of paternal despotism became pre-eminent and the other aspects of political existence were forgotten. The king posed as the father of his subjects and devoted his life to their moral elevation, interfered in their religion and spent the resources of the Empire in founding *Stūpas* and *Vihāras*, in dedicating caves and in raising monuments to the memory of great teachers.

All these entailed undoubtedly an expenditure of vast sums of money and thereby caused a curtailment of expenditure on other items. Probably, the army and the other branches of civil administration were neglected and thereby weakened the state. At the same time, many of his measures which aimed at the moral

as unpopular as stringent licensing acts or the prohibition of slave labour in the nineteenth century in Europe or as the stoppage of music, pilgrimage or religious fairs, under Aurungzeb. His extravagant patronage and veneration for the Buddhist monks might have also roused the jealousy of the priesthood or exasperated the royal ministers and advisers, if we are to believe in the traditional accounts.*

Whatever might have been the causes, the Empire certainly became weak and its greatness did not survive Aśoka. On his death, (232 B.C.) he was succeeded by a number of princes of the Maurya line.† Probably, the Empire was divided amongst his sons and this receives support from the *Rājataranginī*, which mentions the accession of Jalauka in Kashmira. This spirit of division was probably also accentuated by the separatist tendencies in the more recent conquests of Candragupta or the conquered principality of Kalinga.‡ The western provinces with their

* In one of the legends, we find the account of Aśoka's gift of his empire to the Saṅgha which we may reject altogether. We find also the high-handed though justifiable action of the minister in stopping payments for the maintenance of idling monks. We have also the story of Aśoka's gift of an *āmala* when all his treasures were taken away.

† The proper order of succession after Aśoka's death is but little known. Aśoka had many sons some of whom acted as viceroys in the great provincial capitals. Prince Tivara's name occurs in the inscriptions while we find Kupāla or Suyāśah, and Jalauka mentioned in Indian literature. Another prince, Mahendra, and a princess, Saṅghamitrā, are named but in regard to the former it is difficult to ascertain whether he was a son or brother. According to Buddhist tradition, the two spread Buddhism in Ceylon.

The names of Aśoka's successors vary in the different purāṇas and in other accounts. According to the Matsya, the names are Daśaratha, Samprati, Śatadhanvan and Brhadratha, while according to the Viṣṇu, the kings were Suyāśah, Daśaratha, Sangata, Śālisuka, Somaśarman Śatadhanvan and Brhadratha. The Divyāvadāna mentions Samprati, Brhaspati, Vṛṣasena, Puṣyadharman and Puṣhyamitra. The *Rājataranginī* mentions Jalauka as king of Kashmira. Samprati is extolled by the Jains while only one King's name occurs in the inscriptions. e. g. Devānām-priya Daśaratha. (see. V. Smith's History, second edition pp. 179-83.)

‡ The extreme west with its centre at Taxila never became completely loyal to the Magadha Emperors. They looked upon the governors and officials of the Empire as intruders and the centralised administrative system was odious to them. The spirit of tribal independence was very strong. All this would appear from the evidence of the *Divyāvadāna*. We have stories of repeated revolts at Taxila both under Bindusāra and Aśoka.

ethnic and political differences provided a constant source of trouble to the Emperors. Probably, the West was separated from the Empire under a prince of the Maurya line and the princes of Kalinga raised their head. Ambitious provincial governors also might have raised standards of revolt. The Greeks on the Indian frontier began their inroads and the Empire became weaker every-day. In such a state of affairs, the last Maurya was murdered by his General Pusyamitra who founded a new line *e.g.* that of the Mitras or Suṅgas. (प्रजादुर्वलं च बलदर्शनव्यपदेशदृष्टिं तां शेषसैन्यः सेनानीरनार्या मोये वृहद्रथं विप्रेष पुष्यमितः स्वामिनम्)*

Pusyamitra Suṅga,† who became king after murdering his master, did not most probably inherit the vast domains which Aśoka held. The west most probably passed into other hands and the limits of the Suṅga Empire did not pass beyond Jalandhara, if we believe Tārānātha. Yājñasena, probably another official of the last Maurya, raised the standard of revolt in Vidarbha‡ and Kalinga kings declared their independence, though as yet they did not attain that superiority as in the time of Khāravela Ceta. A number of scholars has made this king contemporary with Pusyamitra, but considerable doubts still exist. Furthermore, taking advantage of the weak condition of the Empire, the

* By an irony of fate, this prince bore the same name as that of the founder of the dynasty which inaugurated the policy of conquest, i.e. the Bārhadrathas.

† The origin of the Suṅgas is rather obscure. From the termination *Mitra* MM.H.P. Sāstri tried to prove that they were Iranians (J.A.S.B. 190), but a few months later he revised his opinion and tried to establish the fact that they were Brahmins. Their Brāhmanical origin has found favour with some other scholars (see H.C. Raichandhuri P.H. 196). The Suṅgas and their descendants, the Sauṅgāyanis were brahmin teachers undoubtedly but, there is grave doubt as to whether this princely line assumed merely the *Pravara* of their spiritual teachers as was the custom among Kṣatriyas.

‡ This would appear from the account of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* which describes a war between the Suṅga king and the rebel leader at Vidarbha. See V. Smith's *History*, ch. VIII.

Yavanas on the Indian border began to make their inroads, and, if we believe Patañjali, they were bold enough to advance as far as Mādhyamika (Rajaputana) and farther east to Sāketa.*

This audacious leader of the Yavanas has been identified with Menander or Milinda, the hero of the Milinda-pañha or with Demitrios. We shall discuss the history of the Greeks later on, but this much appears certain that though they established themselves in Bactria and the western provinces, their inroads into Madhyadeśa were checked. Probably, it was to commemorate his victory over the Yavanas that Puṣyamitra performed an Aśvamedha ceremony.

After Puṣyamitra, who ruled for thirty-six years, nine of his successors ruled.† They had their capital at Pāṭaliputra and probably continued the Mauryan administrative system in those parts of the Empire that still remained under them. The last Śuṅga, Devabhūti, was murdered by his minister the Brāhmaṇa Vāsudeva Kāṇva, who usurped royal power. He with his four successors ruled for forty-five years at the end of which their power ended and the last vestiges of Imperial rule were swept away.‡ The chief interest in the subsequent political history of India

* This Yavana invasion mentioned in the *bhāṣya* of Patañjali was first pointed out by the late Dr. Goldstücker, perhaps the best and most erudite Sanskritist which the west has produced. In connection with Pāṇini's date, he had to investigate that of the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* and he fixed the date of the latter by showing that Patañjali was posterior to the Mauryas (P. 176 of his Pāṇini—where the *bhāṣya* on V 3. 99 is quoted) and that the invasions of the Yavanas who advanced to Mādhyamika and Sāketa and besieged these places, took place in Patañjali's time (177-180). See also V. Smith's History of India. Ch. VIII. appendix.

† For the names of the successors of Puṣyamitra see Pargiter. PP. 70-71, also V. Smith's Early History of India, Ch. VIII. The kings in succession to the founder of the line were Agnimitra whose name occurs in literature and also on coins, Vasujyēṭha, Vasumitra, Andhraka, Pulindaka, Ghōṣa, Vajramitra, Bhāgavata and Devabhūmi. Mitra coins have been found in many places in north India but the names do not always tally with those in the Purāṇas. Mr. Jayaswal has identified some of these. (J. B. O. R. S. 1917. P. 479.). One prince Bhāga-bhadra's reign saw a Greek embassy from king Antialcidas under Heliodorus sent to the Śuṅga king. (Besnagar Inscription).

‡ The chronology of the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas is rather disputed. According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar (E. H. Deccan) the Śuṅgas were reduced to the condition of "Rois fainéants"

centres round the dynasties of invading foreigners who overran nearly the whole of the west and the rising power of the Andhra rulers who not only maintained their integrity in the South but checked the foreigners for a long time.

by the Brâhmin Kâpvas who acted like the Peshwas in the 18th century. Hence, according to him, the 112 years assigned to the Satâvas included the 45 years attributed to the latter. This view does not find favour with historians like V. Smith and they assign to the Kâpvas the period from 73. to 28 B. C.

Political ideals and Administrative System of Empire

The administrative system of the Empire which grew out of the process of conquest and unification was characterised by high centralisation. A detailed or systematic account of the Imperial administrative machinery is lacking, but this deficiency is made good by the informations furnished by authentic indigenous and foreign accounts of the period. The main sources of such information are the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and the accounts of Megasthenes and other Greek visitors of which fragments have reached us. From the evidence obtained from both these sources, it is certain that a highly centralised Empire had arisen out of the process which had been going on. At the present time, we have no means of deciding as to who was the real founder of the system, but it is almost beyond doubt that centralisation came as the result of the process which had begun with the VIth cen. B.C. To this natural process, finishing touch was given by Mahāpadma, the founder of that powerful dynasty which held sway in the land of the Prasii when the bold Hellenic conqueror made his famous inroad into the Punjab. This Mahāpadma, if we are to believe in the Paurāṇic or Buddhistic tradition, pursued a consistent policy with the object of adding to his material resources and also to remove all the remnants of local Kṣattriya tribes or dynasties. This would receive confirmation from the statement of the Purāṇas that he exterminated the Kṣattriyas like a second Paraśurāma, and also from the almost unanimous

Indian tradition that he was avaricious and created new sources of taxation (See Mahāvamsa commentary—Turnour, already referred to). Circumstances also helped him in his objectives. Thus, conquest brought in wealth. The crown domains were augmented by the accession of the lands belonging to the uprooted dynasties as well as that of forest tracts or hill regions subsisting so long, as no man's land, between the boundaries of two independent states. Rivers, too, became sources of income, as well as the sea when the boundaries of the Empire extended to its borders. This vast income freed the rulers of the Imperial Dominions from all popular control, which also was reduced to a nullity in view of the vast extent of the Empire and its vast military resources.

The Emperor. The main responsibility of governing this vast Empire which in the days of Candragupta extended from the borders of the Persian gulf to the Bay of Bengal and included the whole of India with the exception of Kalinga and the states of the extreme south, devolved on the Emperor. He was, if we are to believe in the Arthashastra or the Greek accounts, the sole repository of all powers and political functions. He was the supreme executive head, the head of the armed forces and also the fountain head of justice (*dharma-pravartaka*). So far as the public administration was concerned, the sole authority rested in him. The officers of government took directions from him and communicated directly with him. For his own information he had spies employed throughout the country, not only to watch over the opinions of the people but to examine the conduct of all officers of the realm.

The Emperor, thus, was the pivot of the whole system. His life was hard and precarious. He had no moments to lose, no time to while away in enjoyment. Like Medieval monarchs of the type of Philip. II of Spain, or Aurungzeb of India, he was the hardest worked

man in his empire. The Emperor's daily routine of which we have a sample in the Arthaśāstra (See. Ch. on Rāja-praṇidhi)* shows the hard discipline of regal life and the amount of labour and care the king had to spend for his own safety or the prosperity of the Empire. He rose early and having finished his ablutions, purifications or devotions to the gods, set to work, which absorbed the major part of the day except the few hours reserved for dinner, rest and sleep. Multifarious duties rested on his shoulder. He had to consider the business of all departments, attend to the army, consult ministers, receive information from spies, and last of all, hear the complaints of his subjects or decide cases in appeal brought to his *darbar*†. Hard-worked as he was, he had no opportunity for relaxation

His hard work or ease. Constant dangers awaited him. His life was always in peril. Assassins roved around, rebellious sons or concubines intrigued against him, his food was not secure from poisoning, nor was the house he rested in or the woman he confided in safe for him.‡. Constantly beset with dangers, with life always in risk, surrounded by armed troopers or female-guards, he had to devote his life to the cause of his subjects for the realisation

* तच्च पूर्वं दिवसस्याष्टभागे रक्षाविधानमायव्ययी च शृणुयात् । द्वितीये पौरजानपदानां कार्याणि पश्येत् । तृतीये स्नानभोजनं सेवेत । स्वाध्यायं च कुर्वीत । चतुर्थे हिरण्यप्रतिग्रह-मध्यक्षां च कुर्वीत । पञ्चमे मन्त्रपरिषदा पत्रसं प्रेषणेन मन्त्रधेत । चारुगुह्यबोधनीयानि च कुर्वीत । षष्ठे खैरविहारं मन्त्रं वा सेवेत । सप्तमे हस्तारथायुधोयान् पश्येत् । अष्टमे सेनापतिसखो विक्रमं चिन्तयेत् । Then for the night—प्रतिष्ठितेहनि सन्त्यागुपासीत । प्रथमे रात्रिभागे गूढपुरुषान् पश्येत् । द्वितीये स्नानोभोजनं कुर्वीत स्वाध्यायं च । तृतीये तूर्यघोषेण संचिदः चतुर्थपक्षमी शयीत । षष्ठे तूर्यघोषेण प्रतिबुधः शास्त्रमितिकर्तव्यतां च चिन्तयेत् । सप्तमे मन्त्रमध्यासीत । गूढ-पुरुषां च प्रेषयेत् ॥

† उपस्थानगतः कार्याणि नामद्वारासङ्गं कारयेत् । दुर्दुर्गौ हि राजा कार्याकार्य-विपर्ययमासप्तैः कायते । तेन प्रकृतिकीपमरिद्वयं वा गच्छेत् ॥

‡ For precautions against these, see the chapter on निशान्तप्रवृत्तिः—or that relating to the control over the Harem and sons.

of the ideal which is so brilliantly expressed in the following lines of the Arthaśāstra :—

राज्ञो हि व्रतमुत्मानं यज्ञः कार्यानुशासनम् ।
 दक्षिणा वृत्तिमाम्यं च दीक्षितस्याभिषेचनम् ॥
 प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हितं हितम् ।
 नात्मप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजाणाञ्च प्रियं हितम् ॥

The weight of these onerous duties rested on the shoulders of the benevolent despot whose hankering after universal sovereign rule made his life more miserable than that of the meanest of his subjects.

The Emperor's duties and responsibilities kept him ever active and busy, but, as the task was something beyond the powers of a single man, he had to take the help of his officials and servants* of various grades. These comprised the following :—

- (1) Members of the consultative body or the Mantri-pariṣat.
- (2) Trusted advisers of the king, enjoying his fullest confidence.
- (3) Members of the Central Executive and heads of departments.
- (4) The provincial administrative officials and their subordinates who wielded the functions of the central government in relation to the smaller units of social and political life.

Mantri-pariṣat. For advice and guidance the king depended on two important sets of advisers. One body of responsible advisers openly deliberated on important affairs of state. It was known as the Mantri-pariṣat, which was practically the representative of the old Sabhā voicing the opinion of Elders and men of experience. The members represented (so far as it was possible in the absence of

* महायज्ञाच्च राजस्य चक्रवर्त्यं न वदते ।

कुर्वीत सचिवोऽसकृत्तपो च शूद्रः सान्त्वयन् ॥—Kautilya. Text, P. 13.

an elected Chamber) public opinion, though, strictly speaking, it was not a representative body. They were recruited from a body of high officials known as the Amātyas, who had come to existence already, and who from the point of view of their duties and functions, many be fairly compared with the members of the present Indian Civil Service. The number of Advisers in the Mantri-pariṣat was not fixed, since we find Kauṭilya laying down the maxim that the number of counsellors must vary with the requirements. His predecessors whose views he quotes, tried to put a limit to the number* but Kauṭilya did not lay any hard and fast rule as to their numerical strength. But, he was certainly in favour of a large body as would appear from his statement that a king with a small Council was sure to decline.

While this large body deliberated in public, the king consulted at the same time his most trusted advisers, the Mantriṇaḥ who formed the highest rank of those Amātyas who had proved themselves above all temptations.† Kauṭilya engages in a long discussion as to the number of ministers to be consulted with, but for our purpose this is immaterial.

Deliberation with these bodies, according to Kauṭilya, was of vital importance to the king, and he even lays down the rule that absentee ministers should be consulted by means of letters. (आसन्नैः सह कार्याणि पश्येत् । अनासन्नैः सह पत्रसम्प्रयोगेन मन्त्रयेत् ।) When consulting with ministers, the king generally followed the opinion of the majority and Kauṭilya naturally is in favour of following the same.

* मन्त्रिपरिषदं द्वादशमात्र्यान् कुर्वीत इति मानवाः । योद्धेति बार्हस्पत्याः । विप्रति
इत्योशनसाः । यथासामर्थ्यं इति कौटिल्यः । इत्यस्य हि मन्त्रिपरिषदयोः सदृशं तत्पादिसं
यत् सदृशाच्चमाहुः ।

† सर्वोपपादयान् मन्त्रिणः कुर्वीत ।

This direction that the king should follow the opinion of the majority is, according to Kautilya, subject to the proviso that he should choose that course which leads best to success. This has given rise to a discussion relating to the constitutional position of the Ministers' Council. Mr. Jayaswal and, following him, some other learned authors on Hindu Polity, interpret the passage to mean that the opinion of the majority was legally binding on the king, and as such, the power of the king was constitutionally limited. This view which is pleasing to the patriotic historian, however, does not stand a critical examination. For, the passage* in question clearly enunciates the principle that generally the king should do well to follow the majority or he might choose that course which led best to success. The presence of the second alternative clearly takes away the binding force of the former. Furthermore, we must bear in mind that ministers in these days were nothing else than royal servants whose conduct was regulated by fear of royal displeasure and hope of favour, as is described in the chapter on *Samayācūrika*. Moreover, the king could, if he wished, remove any minister or change the whole personnel of the Mantri-parīṣat. Such ministers entirely depending on royal favour were not checks on regal authority and the law of majority is not always a test of political progress, though it is accepted as a rough index to the right course owing to the concurrence of expert opinion.

Central Executive. Next to the advisory bodies, we pass on to the composition of the Central Executive body. This comprised

* "याम्यसि कावे" मन्त्रिषु मन्त्रिपरिषदं चाह्वय द्वात् । तत्र बहुविधाः कार्यसिद्धिर्कर
वा द्रव्यसत् कृपात् ॥

That the opinion of the majority was naturally the guiding principle in those days is also confirmed by Kautilya's discussion as to the number of Mantriṣah to be consulted. see the same chapter.

a number of high officials and heads of departments who formed the "eighteen fords or the Aṣṭādaśa-tirthas." The following were the chief officers in order of precedence and importance :—

(1) The Mantri or Mantriṇaḥ. It is difficult to determine whether there were several Mantriṇaḥ or one Mantri corresponding to our Prime Minister. In more than one place Kauṭilya speaks of the Mantriṇaḥ. Probably, out of several such of the same rank, one man stood highest. He enjoyed a salary of 48000 paṇas.

(2) The Purohita—His position was very high, though probably next to the Mantri. He was regarded as a preceptor and teacher and his person was sacred. Kauṭilya enjoins obedience to him (ch. on Mantri-purohitotpattiḥ) and speaks of his immunity from capital punishment.

(3) The Senāpati—He was the Commander-in-chief or rather the Chief of the General Staff. His special care was the supervision of the war department. It is doubtful whether he led troops in battle.

(4) The Yuvarāja—or the Heir-apparent, selected from the royal children and kinsmen enjoyed a high place. He held a place of honour in the Regal Council.

(5) The Dvauvārika—or the officer in charge of the city-gate of the capital or fort, who owed a high position on account of the protection of the king being vested in him.

(6) The Antarvaṃśika—or the leader of the Harem-guards who enjoyed a high place owing to his important charge over the king's life and harem.

(7) The Praśāstā—This official combined in him magisterial powers along with the control of troops on the march.

(8) The Samāhartā—He was the Collector-general of revenue, who combined in his person also the superintendence over police and

civil administration. The levying of taxes, their realisation, the employment of spies, control over the police administration were all vested in him.

(9) The Sannidhātā—was the Treasurer-general, to whom all collections were forwarded. The state funds, as well as the building and care of important offices were entrusted to him.

(10) The Pradeṣṭā—The office of the pradeṣṭ combined in it the power of collecting bali, checking of accounts and some criminal jurisdiction. The pradeṣṭārah were more than one in number.

(11) The Nāyaka—He was a military leader and commanded the vanguard in war. His other functions are not known.

(12) The Paura—was probably a city official—its ruling magistrate or judge. His office was not dissimilar to that of the Nagara-guptika of the Jātakas or the Nagara-viyohālaka of the Aśokan inscriptions.

(13) The Vyavahārika—Details about this office are not known. Probably, he was a judge.

(14) The Kārmāntikas—were many in number. They were in charge of the manufactories or workshops.

(15) The Mantri-parīṣadadhyakṣa—This compound is capable of a double interpretation. Either, it meant the members of the Parīṣat in addition to the various Adhyakṣas or merely the President of the Mantriparīṣat. Probably, the second interpretation is a right one, since we have a large number of Adhyakṣas who were in charge of departments and are mentioned elsewhere.

(16) The Daṇḍapāla—This officer was in charge of troops and probably also inflicted punishments since the word Daṇḍa is capable of both interpretations.

(17) the Durgapāla—was in charge of forts. Probably, more than one Durgapāla existed.

(18) The Antapāla—The Antapāla or Antapālas were in charge of the boundaries.

From the above, it is clear that the word Aṣṭādaśa-tīrthāni designated the “eighteen grades or ranks of important officials”, since it is clear from a perusal of the Arthaśāstra, that a host of officials many times more numerous than the given number existed in the state. Moreover, the list of offices given above is not an exhaustive enumeration, for in the work we find the names of many other officials. ↓

Under the central government were a large number of state departments, of which the more important were the following :—

- (1) The Department for Revenue-collection under the Samāhārtā.
- (2) The Department of Treasury under the Sannidhātā.
- (3) The Department of Records and Accounts under the Akṣapaṭalādhyakṣa.

(4) The Department of Receipts of various descriptions under the Koṣādhyakṣa.

(5) The Department of Mines under the Ākarādhyakṣa and his subordinate officers e.g. (a) Khanyadhyakṣa, in charge of ocean mines.

- (b) Lavanādhyakṣa—in charge of the salt excise.
- (c) Lohādhyakṣa—in charge of base metal extraction.
- (d) Rūpadarśaka—in charge of the mint and coinage.
- (e) Suvarṇādhyakṣa—in charge of department for gold extraction and the manufacture of gold articles.

(6) The Department for the control of the manufacture of gold articles under the Sauvarṇika.

(7) The Department for the receipt and preservation of raw materials under the Koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣa.

(8) The Department for the regulation of merchandise under the Paṇyādhyakṣa.

(9) The Department for raw materials and forest-produce under the Kūpyādhyakṣa.

(10) The Department of the armoury and weapons under the Ayudhāgārādhyakṣa.

(11) The Department for regulating weights and measures under the Pautavādhyakṣa.

(12) The Department for time-regulation under the Mānādhyakṣa.

(13) The Department for the collection of tolls under the Śulkādhyakṣa.

(14) The Department for manufacturing thread and cloth under the Sūtrādhyakṣa.

(15) The Department for the cultivation of crown lands under the Śitādhyakṣa.

(16) The Department for the control of liquor-traffic under the Surādhyakṣa.

(17) The Department for regulating the sale of meat under the Sūnādhyakṣa.

(18) The Department for controlling prostitutes under the Gaṇikādhyakṣa.

✓ (18) The Department for maritime ~~navigation~~ and police under the Nāvādhyakṣa.

(19) The Department for the royal cattle under the Go'dhyakṣa.

(20) The Department of royal cavalry and horses under the Aśvādhyakṣa.

(21) The Department of royal elephants under the Hastya-dhyakṣa.

(22-24) Departments of the army for controlling chariots,

infantry and the general army departments under the Rathādhyakṣa, Pattiyādhyakṣa and the Senāpati.

✓(25) Department of the police for issuing passports under the Mudrādhyakṣa,

(26) Department of rural protection under the Vivītādhyakṣa.

(27) Department of waste lands under the Sūnya-pāla.

By means of these departments and their numerous officials or emissaries, the intervention of the state in all matters concerning the administration, was carried to the highest pitch. With enormous resources at its disposal, the government not only took upon itself the task of protecting life and property by suppressing foreign and internal enemies, but by performing active duties for the maintenance of the lives of its subjects along with their material prosperity. The amount of benevolent activity may be gauged from the fact, that interference was carried into all spheres of life. Even in that early age, the government regulated weights and measures, issued and regulated currency, regulated the sale of merchandise, the prices and profits of merchants, suppressed the sale of adulterated food-stuffs and meat, mediated in disputes relating to wages, regulated the remuneration of artisans and even fixed the fee of courtesans and public women. It will be beyond the scope of the present work to give details about all these and we must content ourselves with merely touching the more important of the above topics

The administrative machinery which had come into being, was, as we have said, a natural elaboration of the system which had gradually developed with the growing needs of the enlarging state and its increasing responsibilities. Not only new offices were created, new departments were organised, but, older institutions were absorbed to perfect the system and to ensure the linking

of the Central Executive body with the smallest units of political existence. Many of the offices which existed in the past were reorganised, the autonomous administrative system of the villages and townships was allowed to subsist, while a vast body of superintending officials gradually came into existence. In this respect, it is easy to see a continuity of development, from the earliest period to that of the empire, and the picture of life in the Buddhist Canon and the Jātakas forms but one of transition to the Imperial system.

↓ 4 **Administrative System.**—The smallest unit of the village retained its autonomous existence under the Grāmika and his assisting officials chosen from the village. The Grāmika had police and criminal powers, while local justice or the care of minors or the preservation of temples and public charities were entrusted to village-elders. Clusters of ten or twenty villages were placed under the Gopas. Clusters of a hundred or two hundred villages or more formed higher administrative units for police and judicial purposes. A quarter of the realm was under the Sthānika. Kharvatas, Sangrahaṇas Droṇamukhas and Sthānīyas were placed amongst them and these were the centres of activity on the part of higher administrative and judicial officers.

For purposes of police, the smallest unit, the village, was autonomous. But, beyond the village, the jurisdiction of the Vivitādhyakṣa comprised the non-rural and uninhabited areas. His duties were multifarious and comprised watching over the conduct of the lawless and the warning of villagers by beat of drums or through carrier-pigeons. His pickets with hunting dogs, checked the progress of wrong-doers and if necessary called in the aid of state troops. Moreover, these watched over all who dared to move without passports (See sections on Vivitādhyakṣa and

Mudrādhykṣa). The capture of thieves was entrusted to special officers known as the Cora-rajjukas. All these officials were burdened with the responsibility of making good the loss of subjects arising out of their neglect and it is curious to note that this liability extended up to the head of the state. (See Bk. IV sec. XIII; also Bk. III Ch. xvi चौरहृतमविद्यमानं स्वद्रव्येभ्यः प्रयच्छेत्)

Justice.—Next to these police regulations, the government took upon itself the duty of ensuring justice to all. The judicial machinery too was re-organised. The king arrogated to himself the highest judicial functions, and Kauṭilya describes him as the fountain-head of justice (*Dharma-pravartaka* Bk. III ch i). Local justice was left to the local bodies. Villages, families, and corporations all retained their lower criminal jurisdiction, while higher regal courts were established in the bigger centres like the Sangrahaṇas Sthānīyas or Droṇa-mukhas, presided over by three Amātyas and three Dharmasthas. Those courts in which the Dharmasthas (or those learned in the sacred law) presided, adjudicated in disputes arising out of breaches relating to the traditional branches of law and decided cases of agreement, marriage and sonship, conjugal rights, debt, inheritance, sale or division of household property, the rights of corporations, mortgage or deposit, labour and wages, joint enterprises, sale without ownership, violent crimes (sāhasa) slander (Vākpāruṣya), assault and injury (Dandapāruṣya) and of dice-play. Perhaps, with the jurists of those days, the eighteen titles of law were regulated and the Kauṭīliya contains the first attempt at codification.

Extra-ordinary Functions.—While, the above functions were generally entrusted to the head of the state, there were others which were arrogated by the king as the result of the growth of his

prerogative and the consolidation of regal authority. As we have already said, the three centuries or more which marked the struggle for political unification and administrative centralisation saw the vesting in the hands of the king a vast amount of authority. The king gradually became the sole pivot of political existence, and the logical elaboration of the ideas of the past entrusted to him the exercise of extra-ordinary powers and functions calculated to safeguard the self-realisation of the individual and the removal of the conflict of classes and sections. Partly with a view to realise this ideal of benevolent despotism and partly with the object of removing obstacles, the policy of interference was carried too far. No department of political and economic activity was freed from the intervention of the king.

With this object, regal ordinances were issued defining the rights of the crown and promulgating laws for the punishment of those who transgressed the royal commands. The enforcement of these laws was entrusted to a higher grade of Magistrates known as the Amātyas and Pradeṣṭārah who were placed over the various sections of the Kaṇṭakaśodhana department (*removal of thorns*). It would be out of place to go into the various details but we simply note down the various spheres of their activity. The main sections of the Kaṇṭakaśodhana dealt with the following :—e. g.

(a) regulated the guilds, and laid down their duties and profits. (see chapter on Kāru-rakṣanam). This was done with a view to check their high-handedness. In the Jātakas, we find the king interposing in settling the disputes of guilds.

(b) the regulated markets and the sale of merchandise. In addition to the Paṇyādhayakṣa, there was the Samsthādhayakṣa, who regulated the price and profits of merchants, stopped cornering and adulteration of articles of consumption, prevented attempts at

the lowering of the wages of artisans or the tendency to make stocks of goods without license.

(c) Took care to check famines, pestilences, floods or removed the depredation of wild animals, snakes and pests.

(d) detected youths with criminal tendencies or apprehended house-breakers, adulterers, makers of counterfeit coins, held *post-mortem* examinations in cases of sudden death, applied judicial torture to make suspects confess, and thoroughly watched over criminals.

(e) detected dishonest officials, clerks, judges and regulated jails and lock-ups.

(f) assessed and realised fines in lieu of corporal punishments in offences punishable with death or mutilation.

(g) administered the new laws punishing murder, treason, libels, breaking of dams, poisoning, or adultery on the part of women.

(h) judged various cases of violence to women including rape, adultery, unnatural intercourse (Kanyāprakarma).

(i) tried various other cases e.g. violation of a Brāhmaṇa's purity, houses-breaking, delinquency on the part of officials, collision or injury to passers-by in streets, incests of the worst description, outrages on nuns, unnatural offences or violations of social order.

The above heads clearly show the extent of regal intervention in matters of social and economic life and the high efficiency of the administrative system which existed in India in the IVth century B.C. The king's position and safety was guarded by the law of Treason which bears a close resemblance to that which existed in England under the Plantagenets. The stringent game-laws or those of the forest equally show the extent of the regal prerogative. Interference was carried into other spheres of life *i.e.* the social and religious life of the people which had hitherto been free from any intermeddling on the

part of the king. Indeed, this arose not out of a desire to regulate religious belief, but with a view to check indiscriminate mendicancy which had been the immediate consequence of the monastic propaganda. As a result of the latter, society undoubtedly suffered from many ills and the state too suffered inasmuch as social life was jeopardised. Women with children were reduced to destitution owing to husbands leaving the home and their maintenance devolved on the king as *Parens patriae*. Family-life was similarly broken up by the wife becoming a nun; young girls were often led away from domestic life and in many cases strayed into the path of vice.

To check these evils, the political authority was compelled to intervene, as is proved by the regulations of the *Arthaśāstra*. We are expressly told that mendicancy on the part of a young man who left his home leaving his wife and children unprovided for was a punishable offence. According to the *Arthaśāstra* regulations, a man accused of such an offence was punished with the first amercement while a similar punishment was inflicted on any one who induced a woman to take to orders. (लुप्तव्यवायः प्रव्रजितावृष्ट्या धर्मस्वान् ।

अन्यथा नियम्येत । पुत्रदारमप्रनिविधाय प्रव्रजतः पूर्वः साहमदण्डः । स्त्रियश्च प्रव्राजयतः) The officials of the police department especially of the *Nāvadhyakṣa* were empowered to arrest those who had just taken orders with a view to investigate the circumstances of their mendicancy. (सद्योगहीतलिङ्गिनं अलिङ्गिनं वा प्रव्रजितं चोपग्राहयेत्)

The government also discouraged mendicancy on the part of the lower classes and forbade mendicants (except the Brāhmaṇical *Vānaprasthas*) to have any settlements or organisations in the newly-settled villages on the crown demesne. (वानप्रस्थादभ्यः प्रव्रजितभावः सजातादन्य सङ्गः...नास्य जनपदमुपनिवेशेत । न च तत्राश्रम-

विहारार्थाः शालाः स्वः;) At the same time, Sūdra (heterodox ?) mendicants like the Śākyas and Ājivikas were prohibited from usurping the dues and privileges of the Brahmacāris who were entitled to fees and feeding on śrāddha ceremonies.

The above shows clearly how the state was gradually advancing its claims to interfere in matters of ethico-religious discipline. Of course, in earlier days this interfering tendency was of no great moment and the anti-monastic legislation shows the popular tendency against the evils of the monastic propaganda. They were, however, the germs which under Aśoka were elaborated into that bid for ecclesiastical supremacy too well-known to be mentioned here.

Taxation.—While the king's power rose to its zenith and the government took upon itself the burden of furthering the material interests of the subjects in all possible ways, the expenses of maintaining the highly organised administrative machinery were derived from the enormous sources at its disposal. As we have already pointed out, the series of successful wars and conquests added to the sources of regal income. The vast areas of unclaimed forest-land came under the direct authority of the crown together with all its mineral and vegetable products. The ordinary land-tax was raised from the $\frac{1}{6}$ or $\frac{1}{10}$ mentioned in some of the Dharmasūtras (see Gau. Ch. X and Śānti Ch. 67) to one sixth or one fourth or even to one third in times of emergency. The old *Bali* continued to be regularly levied. Excise duty on liquor were imposed (as proved by the evidence of some Jātakas). Tolls were levied on articles of merchandise and the amount was enhanced. Taxes were imposed on artisans, mechanics, or fishermen and even those who derived their living from the exploitation of mines, forests, hills or other unclaimed natural sources, though these as well as

certain classes of poor earners were exempted by the Dharmasūtras. Forced labour became a source of income and a regal privilege. Monopolies were established. A number of occasional taxes and dues which had arisen through custom were legalised and enforced. Road-cesses or those on animals of burden were imposed and last of all, the state derived vast sums from the failure of heirs, the ownership of lost articles, fines levied in law-courts and other sundry items. We have some information on these heads from the Greek accounts and occasionally, the Jātakas point to the growth of some of these taxes. But, by far the greatest source of information is the Arthaśāstra which enumerates the following main sources of revenue, e. g. urban-areas, land, mines, rivers and irrigation, forest, cattle and commerce.

(1) Land Tax—included the various items mentioned in the Arthaśāstra,* e.g., tax paid in cash by the whole village, or in kind known as the *Pinḍakara*, or *Saḍbhāga*; various other occasional dues which included presents to the king (*aupāyanika*), nazars to him on the birth of an heir (*utsaṅga* of which we have a forerunner in the *khīramūla* of the Jātakas), requisitions exacted from villagers for the army on the march (*Senābhaktam*). In addition to these, there was the share of grains from cultivators who tilled royal lands, the produce of crown farms, taxes levied on those who used the water of canals together with the interest on grains lent and various

* The land policy of the Kauṭilyan government is an interesting study and has given rise to great divergences of opinion. Many scholars mainly accepting a contemporary Greek testimony have regarded land as royal property. But, a careful analysis of the Arthaśāstra evidence shows that as yet there was no such theory. The *Brahmadeya* was enjoyed by the Śrōtriyas who were empowered to make gifts and sale of it provided the land did not go to the unprivileged class. The *A-karada* landholders were holders of freeholds and were the owners of land held by hereditary right. They were full owners subject to the payment of tax to the king. The *Karada* tenants of the crown were settlers on the crown land or the royal demesne and paid rent. Villages, too, held land belonging to the community as a whole. The *Karada* tenants held for life and were not empowered to make a gift or sale of their plots.

other such items. For the realisation of land-tax, land was classified according to its productivity, fertility and non-dependence on the water of canals or wells. The productivity was ascertained first and then the royal share fixed. In towns probably taxes were levied on houses and house-owners.

II. Mines and Monopolies—Next to land-tax, mines and monopolies brought a vast income. All mines were royal property and were worked by officers under the Ākarādhyakṣa with his assistants in charge of gold mines (Suvarṇādhyakṣa), or the manufacture of base metals (Lohādhyakṣa). The government had also a monopoly of the manufacture and sale of salt (under Lavaṇādhyakṣa).

III. Commerce in the produce of royal farms and factories. This was a great source of income. The manufacture of gold and silver was under the state supervision.

IV. Forests—These also produced considerable income. Probably, the earliest to impose royal rights on forests and forest produce were the Nandas. Forest officials zealously guarded regal rights and stringent game-laws punished encroachments on these.

V. Customs, tolls, etc.—These again proved a good source of revenue. Sale markets were under royal supervision and taxes were levied on the sale of articles. Nothing could be sold except in markets. Duties were levied on merchandise coming from abroad (See chapter on Śulkavyavahāra).

VI. Taxes on occupations, professions, guilds and wage-earners.—Artisans had to pay taxes in addition to working for the king for specified periods. Guilds of workmen probably paid in a lump. Similarly, owners of shops had to take out a license and to pay dues. Slaughter houses had to pay to the king. A portion of the income of courtesans went to the king.

VII. Excise duties on liquor was also a source of revenue. Wine-

houses were controlled as in the time of some of the Jātakas by royal officers and the preparation of liquor (except on some specified days) was a royal monopoly. Gambling houses or those for dicing also brought some income to the royal coffers.

VIII. Income from fines levied on offenders condemned to pay fines or fines in lieu of sentences of death or mutilations.

IX. Income from property lapsing to the king on failure of heirs, lost articles, treasure-troves etc.

X. Income from various miscellaneous items, e.g.,

(1) Taxes on maritime ports.

(2) Ferry-dues.

(3) Passports for moving from one place to another.

(4) Tax on animals of freight or loads.

(5) Road-cesses.

Lastly, in addition to these, villages supplied fighting men materials, or labourers or otherwise served the king.

These sources enriched the royal coffers and made the king almost free from popular control. In addition to these, the king was empowered to ask additional taxes or enhanced rates of payment in times of emergency. These were known as *Praṇayas* and may be favourably compared with the "Benevolences" exacted by medieval English kings. The ways of realising them are described in detail in the chapter on *Koṣābhisaṅgrahaṇa*.

Character of Administration.—The duties which in lieu of these, the regal government took upon its own shoulders, were an ample return for the people's allegiance. They were not merely those of police but comprised almost everything which men could expect of a political organisation. Equal protection for all, the furtherance of everyone's objective in life and an equitable opportunity to every class, section, or individual—was what the State

afforded to the ruled. The kingly government held out hopes to all, and did everything to help its subjects in realising their ends in life. It certainly did not believe in the dogma of equality and as such did not try to sweep away the institutions and traditions of the past. Yet, it followed the principles and maxims of the past too closely to recognise the right of the subject to live and the duty of the state in helping him to live. Elsewhere we have discussed the character of the government and its functions, but before we go on to other topics, we advance some more facts with a view to prove the decidedly paternal character of the government which, as it grew into being, compensated the subject for the gradual decay of older democratic ideals and principles. The dominance of the ideas of governmental paternalism is apparent not only from the duties which the Arthaśāstra writer inculcates but also from the main heads of expenditure. In regard to the former, the theorist repeatedly calls upon the ruler not only to render aid to the various arts and industries, to maintain the widow and the orphan but to treat subjects as if they were the king's children (तान् पितेव अनुगृहीयात्—see Ch. on *Janapadaniveśa*, *Upanipātapratikāra* & *Nāvudhyakṣa* etc.). The heads of expenditure disclose clearly the activity of the ruler to further the prosperity of the subject. Prominent among these, may be mentioned the following items *e.g.*

(1) Active aid to agriculturists by granting them land for life, loans of corn and money at nominal interest, and remission of taxation in times of distress (Ch. on *Janapada-niveśa*).

(2) Aids to traders by helping them to import foreign manufactures or finding out markets for their goods (Ch. on *Panyā-dhyakṣa*).

(3) Pensions and grants to Śrotriyas, lay-teachers of science,

skilled artisans and those who taught the science of vārttā (Ch. on *Bhṛtyabharanīyam*).

(4) Maintenance of the aged, the infirm, the widow without children and the orphan—not to speak of the wives and children of those officers and servants of state who laid down their lives for the king.

(5) Active measures for famine-relief and medical aid in times of epidemic and pestilence. In regard to the former, we have not only periodical distributions of grain and food, the introduction of new plants, emigration, and various other temporary measures, but we find an alertness on the part of the government to do everything in its power. Half of the grain annually produced in royal farms or received from subjects was kept in reserve for the use of the people in times of distress (अतोऽर्थं रक्षेत् आपदर्थं ज्ञानपदानाम्—Ch. on *Koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣa*).

Economic Considerations.—From all that has been said about the details of the administration, the sources of taxation or the items of expenditure, it will be easy to determine the character of the state. It is apparent that the rulers of those days centred their main attention upon the material basis of existence. In their hands, the socio-economic ideas of the Vedic period attained their complete realisation and the concepts of sacerdotalism passed to the background. As wealth and material resources were the basis of everything, the greatest attention was paid to strengthen the hands of the government, by tapping as much as possible the natural sources of profit and by augmenting the revenue of the king in all possible ways. Directly and indirectly, the government interfered in the economic activities of its subjects, the main object of this policy being to enrich the central authority and to protect the exploitation of the masses by the capitalistic sections. In return,

it took up many of the duties of a culture state and thus came to the relief of the subject. To sum up—

First of all (as we have shown in the chapter on taxation), many of the unclaimed natural sources of wealth like the forest and the mine were appropriated in the name of the King.

Secondly, active measures were taken to produce many of the necessities of life in the royal factories and these were sold for the benefit of the people. In some cases, these became government monopolies (*e.g.* the manufacture of salt, intoxicating liquors and mineral products), while in other instances they were placed under government control (*e.g.* the manufacture of gold articles under the *Sauvarnika*). In most cases the products of government factories passed to the market and enjoyed a sort of preference.

Last of all, the government not satisfied with direct production, reserved to itself some extraordinary powers of supervision and control in the interests of the King and the community. Thus, in cases of neglect to agriculture, the state reserved to it the right of temporarily taking over the cultivation of fields. It protected, moreover, the producer or the wage-earner from capitallistic tyranny. Thus, as stated already, prices and profits were laid down, weights and measures were regulated, cornering was checked, usury was regulated, associations of merchants or other capitallistic bodies suppressed, and last of all, the guilds were brought under control and their extravagant claims put down. In some of these we find but the logical continuation of a policy, the germs of which we easily discover in the *Dharmasūtras* (where we find the denunciation of cornering and usury—See *Vaśiṣṭha* and *Gautama D.S.* : chapters on *Rājadharmā*). As part of a socio-economic legislation, we find also the promulgation of edicts against slavery or child labour. In the chapter on *Dāsakalpa*, we note the slave's rights to inherit property, his

redress against his master's cruelty and his right of demanding manumission. We find also the law that no children were to be sold, nor any below eight years put to hard work.

State Socialism ?—These efforts on the part of the Maurya government mark a remarkable epoch in the history of political and economic thought in antiquity. Indian statesmen and theorists were ushering in an era of social reform otherwise unknown and unrivalled in the ancient world and they were not only anticipating but tackling with problems, now made so prominent before us by the socialistic thinkers of the day. Every unbiassed observer is sure to find in all this not only an attempt to check capitallistic exploitation, but also a clear step towards the appropriation—if not complete nationalisation—of many of the instruments of production in the interests of the governed.

The Arthaśāstra government has consequently been characterised by some writers as an attempt at 'state socialism'. This has gained support from some quarters, while others have ridiculed it as a mere patriotic effort by harping on the despotic nature of royalty and the lack of details on the items of expenditure which were left more or less to the moral discretion of the King. Between these two extreme views it is difficult to ignore the significance of the ideals of the Arthaśāstra writer which approach the social scheme put forward by the modern socialist. Thus, in common with the latter the Indian theorist laid down the following principles. As stated already, he inculcated

(a) that the protection of the subject's life and material prosperity was the prime consideration of the government or of the state which existed for the benefit of the ruled.

(b) that this being the primary object of the state, it had the right of appropriating natural resources for the common benefit

and of checking the exploitation of the masses by capitalistic sections.

While these two are the cardinal maxims of a modern socialist, he differs in many respects from the Indian thinker. He harps constantly on the principle of social equality and denounces all sorts of privilege, social or economic. He has, moreover, little faith in kingly government and is intent upon reorganising the social fabric on the sole basis of equitable remuneration of labour to the entire exclusion of capital or privilege. Here we meet with a fundamental difference, and an impartial examination shows clearly that the Indian system had no faith in equality (which was made impossible by the existence of ethnic differences side by side) and that there was no attempt to put down privilege which was to the Indian the basis of social existence. In India, moreover, there was only a desire to suppress capitalistic exploitation but neither an attempt nor a desire for exterminating capitalism. Labour was protected, but there was never an attempt to make labour the sole basis for remuneration.

The word socialism, again, is too vague and has been applied to designate various types of social idealism and as yet it remains undefined. In its loose sense it has been applied even to the despotism of Napoleon III in France or the centralised autocracy of the German empire under the iron chancellor Bismarck, who ushered in an era of social legislation to win over the working classes to the Empire.

The socialism of Kautilya, if at all we are justified in applying that expression with regard to his ideals, was quite a different thing. He was a believer in monarchy and in progress under the King's government. He was not averse to social inequalities or privileges. The utmost that he advocated was to transform a regal

government into an organisation for social reform and welfare. He strengthened the hands of the King by the appropriation of the resources of nature, yet he never advocated the abolition of private property or the complete nationalisation of all the instruments of production. Monopolies existed as in many despotic systems and they were allowed to subsist. With all this, however, he was not without faith in private effort. Co-operation of all sections and classes with duties and profits regulated under the paternal care of the King's government was all that he advocated.

On all these counts we are averse to borrowing from the terminology of the West and prefer to regard the Kaṭilyan system as a Paternal government which was to lead to the harmonious co-operation of classes and to social solidarity—an ideal nearly approaching that of the early Utopians who advocated socialism. We cannot say what would have been its logical culmination if the empire lasted for a few centuries, but, anyhow, inspite of the wreck of the empire, its ideals influenced political life deeply.

Political and legal aspect of the Monarchy.—Having discussed the character and the ends of the state, we go on to discuss the legal and political aspects of the monarchy. On these heads, too, misconceptions exist and many have attempted to prove the preponderance of theocratic ideals. Their views are, however, open to serious objections and it is easy for all to see that the theorists of the Arthaśāstra school including Kaṭilya made political necessity the sole justification for monarchy. Kaṭilya nowhere speaks of the divine rights of the King or the parallelism between the King's functions and those of the divine rulers, but constantly reminds the King that protection was his primary duty and loyalty was his most valued asset. Theoretically, too, the King derived his right of taxation from the protection he granted to subjects and this contractual nature

of royalty is apparent from the King's liability to make good the loss of his subjects caused by theft or robbery. Undoubtedly, many of these ideas were inherited from the past and continued to have acceptance even when royalty became all-powerful.

Monarchy came to be associated with a number of legal privileges, which are apparently derived from those found in the Dharma-sūtras. As before, the King had the following privileges in the Arthaśāstra :—

- e.g.* (a) He could not be made a witness (राज्योत्रियग्रामभृतकवर्जं Kau. P. 175).
- (b) His property could not pass to others by prescription (..... न भोगेन हरेयुः...राज्योत्रियद्रव्याणि च Kau. P. 191).
- (c) He had the escheat to property without heir (अदायादकं राजा हरेत्).
- (d) He was entitled to all lost or stolen articles without claimants (नाष्टिकं च राजधर्म्यं स्यात् Kau. P. 190).
- (e) He was entitled to the service of artisans for specified periods (विष्टि).
- (f) He was entitled to treasure-troves (शतसहस्रादूर्ध्वं राजगामी निधिः Kau. P. 202).

Law of Treason.—While regal authority was thus strengthened, the King's safety and personal security as well as reputation were ensured by the promulgation of the Law of Treason. The development of this is very interesting and what impresses us most is the strange parallelism between the Kautilyan laws of treason and the provisions of the same law under the Plantagenets. The law of treason was remarkable on account of the cruel punishments awarded and on account of the fact that it did even override the privileges of order. Under the head of treason we have a number of offences *e.g.*

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(a) coveting the kingdom, (b) violation of the purity of the harem, (c) incitement to rebellion of forest-tribes or other enemies, (d) injury to fortifications, the country or the army. (राज्यकामुकमन्तःपुर प्रधर्षकमटव्यमित्त्रोत्साहकंदुर्गराष्ट्रदण्डकोपकं वा शिरोहस्त-प्रादौपिकं घायतेत् । ब्राह्मणं तमपः प्रवेशयेत् Kau. P. 227).

The punishment for offences under all these heads was the cruel death of the culprit by burning. In the case of the Brahmin he was simply thrown into water.

Punishments were also inflicted on those who slandered the King or divulged his secret. Their tongue was cut off.

Royal rights were also jealously guarded and Game laws as stringent as those of the Normans came to existence.

The system under As'oka.—Under Aśoka, the same system was continued by the monarch, who took, as we know from his inscriptions, the pompous title of “Beloved of the Gods” (*Devānāmpriya Priyadarśi*).† His surviving records and monuments show that his vast empire was divided into at least four viceregal domains, in addition to the region directly under the King with capital at Pāṭaliputra. These viceroyalties had their head-quarters at Taxila, Ujjain, Suvarṇagiri and Tosali and were in charge of Kumāras of the royal blood or of officials bearing the title of Mahāmātra or Ārya-putra (*Ayaputa*).

The Viceroys were supposed to rule according to Imperial orders,

* By the Statute of Treasons 1352 (25 Edward III St. 5) the following offences were regarded as constituting treason :—

- (a) Compassing the death of the King, Queen or the heir to the Throne.
- (b) Violating the Queen, the king's eldest unmarried daughter or the wife of his eldest son.
- (c) Levying war against the King in his realm or adhering to his foes.
- (d) Counterfeiting his seal or money or importing false money.
- (e) Slaying the Chancellor, Treasurer or Judges in the discharge of their duty.

† According to some, the title was also assumed by Aśoka's predecessors. It is also interesting to note that 'Priyadarśana' is an epithet used by the author of the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* to describe Candragupta Maurya.

but in reality exercised considerable personal authority. In the big cities, Town-councils or Assemblies existed but more often they were powerless against the Viceroy. In many provinces discontent existed as we can easily gather from the Kalinga edicts, and if we are to believe in the Divyāvadāna, the westernmost viceroyalty was almost in perpetual revolt, this being due to the ethnic differences of the Western peoples and the survival of their republican tradition.

The Prādeśikas* were probably subordinates of the Viceroys and under them were minor officials like the Rajjukas (Rājuka) and Yutas. The Rājukas† seem to have exercised magisterial powers as in the Arthaśāstra, while spies (Prativedakas) remained as active as before. Perhaps, their activity increased with the religious propaganda of Aśoka, and the creation of the Strīmahāmātras empowered them even to pry into the private life of the people, especially the richer and more influential class.

The Dharma-mahāmātras were an innovation of the King, and, as we know from the records, were entrusted with the superintendence of the moral education of the people. We have no evidence eitherway, but it is not improbable that they were very unpopular with the orthodox sections who resented royal interference in religion.

The Pariṣā (or the Pariṣat) was however maintained by Aśoka, though the rulings of the Pariṣā had no binding force and under Aśoka most probably its real power was almost nil. The king remained legally irresponsible. The tide of kingly prerogative

* The Prādeśikas were, according to Kern and Senart, local governors. Bühler regarded them as local princes under the imperial suzerain authority. Thomas derives the word Prādeśika from Prādeśa (report) and inclines toward the identification of these with the Pradeśtri.

† Rājuka or Rajjuka comes from Rajju or cord to bind with. Probably, the rajjukas combined the duties of land survey with criminal justice and award of punishment. The Arthaśāstra mentions the cora-rajjukas.

had been waxing high since the sixth cen. B.C. The influence of foreign ideals* added but to its vigour and power. Already practically absolute, regal authority became the more so when under the influence of decayed Hellenism the sacerdotal idea (absent in the *Arthaśāstra*) was revived and on the model of the Greeks the Maurya Emperor took the style and title of 'Beloved of the Gods', i.e. "King by the grace of the gods." Foreign historians see in it only the influence of Divine Kingship and regard it as the outgrowth of our peculiar Indian mentality. In reality, however, it shows the influence of foreign ideals, and the truth of the statement becomes apparent when we remember that Alexander was deified by the decayed Hellenes as 'the son and chosen of Apollo', and that in the 2nd cen. B.C. a Selucide, actually assumed the pompous surname of 'Theos'.

The Dharma idealism† added but another invigorating strain, and to the historian the reign of Aśoka marked the height of regal despotism—a fact, which is odious to many Indians. Yet, if that was the climax, it marked also the decay. The Empire reached its zenith undoubtedly, but, from the very moment of its height, the downward march began. The Imperial fabric began to feel the influence of disrupting forces. With the influence of *Dharma*, came the opposing tide of repentance and the vast edifice which had been raised by a process of centuries fell to the ground.

Republican Life and its survival—While the empire rose to its zenith, and reaped the advantages of the Greek conquest of the borderland, the republics had a hard time for their life and pros-

* The style of Aśoka's edicts is similar to that of the Persian King. This as well as other resemblances between the Persian and Indian styles of architecture led Dr. Spooner to believe in the great influence exerted by the Persian monarchy on the Maurya Empire.

† Aśoka's creation of officials for religious purposes was also the logical sequel to the policy of interference in the *Arthaśāstra*. There, too, we have the *Devatādhyakṣa* and the promulgation of penal laws against non-brahmin ascetics.

perity. Menaced by the foreign conqueror in their rear, they had to submit, and when the Yavana power declined, they transferred their allegiance to the Emperor of the Easterners. Probably, timely submission saved them from annihilation and gave them a lease of life on conditions of submission and military aid. Their value was understood by the Empire-builders of the 4th century and Kaṭilya, a firm believer in monarchy, went so far as to extol the value of republican aid to a conqueror aspiring after universal dominion. In his eyes, their help was superior in value to the gain of an army or an ally (सङ्गलाभी दण्डमित्रलाभानामुत्तमः Kau. Bk. XI. ch. 1), and he calls upon the conqueror to secure the services of these corporations. In short, his policy was similar to that pursued by the kings of Mediæval France towards the republican cantons of Switzerland.

In the days of Kaṭilya, a large number of republics existed, the more important of them apart from those of the west being the Kambojas, and the Surāṣṭras who lived by agriculture or by the occupation of arms (like the members of the Mediæval military orders or the republican Swiss in French service) while the corporations of the Licchavis, Vṛjis, Mallas, Madrakas, Kukuras, Kurus and Pañcālas lived under chiefs claiming the title of "Rājā."

From the meagre details preserved in the Arthaśāstra, we know little about the constitution and government of the Saṅghas. But this much is clear that the Saṅghas possessed seals or badges, issued money and had a central treasury. Some families were distinguished by greater privileges and had the distinctive title of Rājā (Rājaśabdin?). These families possessed great influence within the Saṅgha and there seems to have been great rivalry among such families. The position of these families is not dissimilar to that of

the prominent ruling houses in Mediæval Venice, Genoa or Florence. The affairs of the Saṅgha, however, were entrusted to the Saṅgha-mukhyas who were most probably elected leaders backed by parties. The existence of such parties is clear from the chapter on Saṅgha-vṛtta and Kauṭilya advises kings to take advantage of party-jealousies. In many respects, the account in the Arthaśāstra bears a close resemblance to that in the Śāntiparva (ch. LXXXIV) where Śrīkṛṣṇa speaks of the difficulties of Saṅgha-mukhyas faced with the turbulence of party leaders.

A systematic account of the states mentioned by Kauṭilya is lacking, but in the light of later history we must conclude that many of the more important communities survived and maintained their political existence. As in the days of Megasthenes, the republican tradition retained its full vigour. In fact, as Megasthenes clearly states, there was a duel between republicanism and monarchy, and in certain isolated localities republics existed side by side with monarchies. The evidence of the Avadāna-śataka, which quotes the opinion of travellers, supports this. (**केचिद्देशा गणराज्यीनाः** **केचिच्च राजाधीनाः** See Avadānaśataka II. 103, St. Petersburg Edition).

More definite evidence is also available in the days of Aśoka, who enumerated the allied and feudatory communities into whose territories his preachers were allowed access. Thus, in the Rock Edicts of Aśoka, we find mention of the following communities some of which, we have reason to believe, were under republican government.

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| (a) The Yonas | } on the North-western frontier |
| (b) the Kambojas | |
| (c) the Gāndhāras | |

- (d) the Rāṣṭrikas and the Bhojas
 (e) the Petenikas, the Andhras and } in the South
 the Pulindas
 (f) The Nāvakas and the Nāvapaṅktis.
 (and according to Mr. Jayaswal the other Aparāntas).
 (Aśoka Rock Edict. XIII)

The Yonas were a settlement of Greeks long settled on the border and were neighbours to the Kāmbojas. Little is known about the Nāvakas and Nābhapaṅktis, but Mr. Jayaswal considers them with some reason to have been situated near the Gāndhāris. (Jayaswal—Hindu Polity Pt. I. sec. 130-135). The Rāṣṭrikas, the Bhojas and the Petenikas belonged to the south. The Bhojas were probably intimately connected with the Bhaujyas, and their descendants, the Mahā-bhojas as well as the Mahārathis gained the position of feudatories to the Andhra Emperors. (For Aparānta coins, see Cunningham's A. S. I. Vol. XIV.) We shall discuss them in detail in connection with the Andhra Empire.

Political Speculations in Kautilya.

Having discussed the rise and fall of the Empire, as well as its institutions, we pass on to the main currents of political thought and ideal which meet our eyes during this period. The Greek accounts, the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya and the Edicts of Aśoka are our sole sources of evidence during this period, but on this head we find very little help from the foreigners or the edicts of the great Emperor.

The State in Kautilya :—The Arthaśāstra of Kautilya, however, throws a flood of light on the political ideas of the imperialistic thinkers of the period. That work attributed, not without reason, to the minister of Candragupta, is probably the last of many such books, and is one of the earliest systematised treatises on the art of government representing the high-water mark of a materialistic counter-reaction to the spiritual propaganda of the preceding age.

In Kautilya we meet not only with a dominance of ethico-political ideas, but notice a decided tendency towards the emancipation of politics from the influence of religion and ethics. But, there is a lack of definition and an utter absence of abstract speculation as to the nature of the state. Only in one or two places Kautilya gives us a clue as to his views. This may be due

to the fact that the Arthaśāstra is a practical treatise on the art of government and was written with the express object of establishing a paramount ruling authority, capable of protecting the people and helping them in attaining prosperity in an age which had not yet forgotten the traditions of Persian rule in the Punjab and had witnessed the horrors caused by the daring inroad of the Greeks under Alexander. Such being the case, we can expect but little of theories or abstract ideas. Kauṭilya's views were mainly those of a practical statesman. Consequently, nowhere does he define the state, or dwell on its character. It is only incidentally that he gives us information as to its constituent elements and its real ends and it is from these that we have occasional glimpses into his views on the state of nature or the origin of the state.

Kauṭilya seems to lay stress on the human element of the state. Thus, in one place he says—"The state after all consists of the people; without them, the territory is as useless as a barren cow (पुरुषवद्वा राज्यम्, अपुरुषा गौर्वस्यैव किं दुहतीत.—Arthaśāstra, p. 295.) In another place, in emphasising the duty of a conqueror to look to the interests of men settled in the conquered territory, he says that a territory without subjects (bereft of good government) is neither a Janapada nor a kingdom (न राज्ञो जनपदो राज्यं जनपदं वा भवतीति.—Kau., p. 403.).

These statements show that Kauṭilya, like his great contemporary Aristotle, regarded the state primarily as an association of human groups and created mainly in their interests. This association of individuals to form a state he attributed to man's social ideas, *e. g.*, preservation of life and property and to secure opportunities of progress. The state of nature he regarded as one of war (as in ch. 67 Śānti-parvan) dominated by (*Mātsya-nyāya* or

the tyranny of the strong over the weak.* To end this (as he himself describes it in connection with Danda and in another place puts it into the mouth of one of his discoursing spy propagandists)—the people selected king Manu to save themselves from *Mātsya-nyāya*.†

After thus describing in brief that the state was primarily an association of human groups united together for protection, he goes on to devote his best attention to the consideration of the physical requisites, which are to serve as bases for a well-ordered and prosperous state. Herein lies his excellence over most political thinkers of antiquity and his views show how much prominence he gives to economic and material considerations in conceiving the requisites of a state. According to him, the territory must be capable of supporting the population, and enabling the people to have room for expansion, capable of supporting the people of neighbouring regions in distress, endowed with natural wealth, peopled by men hating the enemy, free from sterile rocky soil, not abounding in ferocious animals, capable of maintaining large herds of cattle and other animals, containing mineral resources and pastures, capable of easy defence, having a free supply of water and not dependent on nature (rains), having excellent land and river communications, productive of commodities, endowed with a labouring element and peopled by patriotic honest men :

e.g., स्थानवान् आत्मधारणः परधारणश्चापि स्वारत्तः स्वाजीवः, शत्रुद्वेषी
शक्यसामन्तः पङ्कपापाणोपरविषमकण्टकश्रेणोव्यालमृगाटवीहीनः, कान्तः सीता-

* अप्रसीतो हि मात्स्यायामुद्भावयति । बलौघानबलं हि यस्य ते दण्डधराभावे । तेन गुणः प्रभवतीति । (Kau., p. 9).

† मात्स्यायाभिभूताः प्रजा मनुं वैवस्वतं राजानं चक्रिरे । धान्यपङ्कभागं पण्यदशभागं हिरण्यं चास्य भागवैधं प्रकल्पयामासुः । तेन भूता राजानः प्रजानां योगक्षेमयद्वा, तेषां किञ्चिददण्डकरो हरन्ति योगक्षेमयद्वा प्रजानाम् । (Kau., p. 23).

खनिद्रव्यहस्तिवनवान्, गन्धः पौरुषेयो गुप्तगोचरः पशुमान् अश्विमात्रको वारि-
खल पथाभ्यामुपेतः सारचित्रवहुपण्यो दण्डकरसहः, कर्मगोलकर्षको बालि-
गन्धाम्यवरवर्णप्रायो भक्तशुचिमनुष्य इति जनपदसम्पत् । (Kau. P. 256)

The Kauṭīliyan state was essentially a monarchical state. Kauṭīliya's sympathies were with monarchy, which in his eyes was the best form of government, since in it there was neither the strife of sections nor the dominance of class interests. The wise rule of a benevolent king ensured happiness for all and guaranteed the safety of social existence. The king was thus the chief necessity for a state.

Next, Kauṭīliya analyses the state (Janapada) like his predecessors, the Epic thinkers, into its seven elements, *e.g.*, Svāmī, Amātya, Durga, Rāṣṭra or (जनपद), Koṣa, Daṇḍa and Mitra.* Of these again, he clearly distinguishes between the ruler, and the state (राजा राज्यम् इति प्रकृतिसंज्ञेयः), *e.g.*, the governing element and the governed. But in spite of this seeming differentiation the two appear to be identified with each other. They are inseparable. Their best interests and the chief aim of their existence seem to be the same. The king as the head of the government was the supreme head of the state. He was the symbol of unity and legality. All authority emanated from him. It was he who directed the energies of the people to their proper channels.*

But though the king was conceived as being of the vital importance to the working and existence of the government machinery, he in his turn depended on the prosperity of the elements.

* स्वामी च सम्पन्नः स्वसम्पद्भिः प्रकृतो, सम्पादयति । खलं पण्योवस्योवाः प्रकृतयो भवन्ति वज्रानि पमादे च तदायतलात् । तस्मात्कूटस्थानीयो हि स्वामीति । (P. 306). This indeed is but an echo of the Epic idea that the moral and intellectual prosperity of subjects depended on the king and he created the age (काकीवा कारणं राक्षो राजा वा काकस्य कारणम् । इति ते संसृजो माम्भूत् राजा काकस्य कारणम् ॥

e.g. अरिवर्जाः प्रकृतयः सप्तैताः सगुणोदयाः ।

उक्ताः प्रत्यङ्गभूतास्ताः प्रकृता राजदम्पदः ॥

सम्पादयति सम्पन्नाः प्रकृतीरात्मवानृपः ।

विवृढाद्यानुरक्ताश्च प्रकृतीर्हन्यनात्मवान् ॥ (P. 257).

The two, the ruler and the State, were thus closely indentified. The king was a necessity for the people but he existed for them and them only. His happiness lay in their prosperity.

Verily says the author :—

प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हिते हितम् ।

नात्मप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां च प्रियं हितम् ॥ (P. 39).

So much for the unity of the ruler and the ruled in the state: Again, when we leave these theoretical considerations and go through the details of administrative measures and regulations we are bound to conclude that the active welfare of the subject was Kauṭilyas' objective and his state did not rest with mere police measures. Presumably, the state conceived by Kauṭilya was a paternal state, which tried to assist all the sections of the community in their self-realisation by active help. The agriculturist, the trader, the student, the workman or the pauper all received their proper quota of help from the government.* We may, therefore, define the Kauṭilyian state as an institution for the well-being of the community and its head, the king, was entrusted with the duty of helping his subjects in the fruition of their worldly aims.

This extreme devotion to the material welfare of the country and of the subject made Kauṭilya sacrifice some of the moral

* Elsewhere I have discussed the functions of the government as conceived by Kauṭilya. (see my article on the 'Governmental ideals in Ancient India, published in the *Calcutta Review* 1922 and also my *Kauṭilya—His Social Ideal and Political Theory*.) The state in India, as conceived by Hindu thinkers was more social than political. The king not only protected life and property, but did everything to foster the prosperity of the classes. He was the guardian and protector of all and did everything possible for them.

and ethical principles which had gained ground in those days.* These characteristics he shared along with his fore-runners—the previous authors of the Arthaśāstras. But here, too, he shrank from the extreme consequences of such a policy. He recognised 'organic laws and principles' which existed prior to the establishment of royal authority or the state. His disregard for moral considerations, (if any), stopped after a while. He would consent to the confiscation of the property of Pāṣaṇḍas or of wealthy widows. He would justify secret attacks on enemies—nay, he would, often following his predecessors, advocate assassination, but he will not go beyond that. He will not consent to the unrighteous usurpation of the throne by ministers, nor to the violation of the sacred institutions of property or family, and constantly warns kings against the obliteration of social distinctions or tampering with the sacred rules of Aryan morals and ethics.

e.g. तस्मात्स्वधर्मं भूतानां राजा न व्यभिचारयेत् ।
स्वधर्मं सन्धानो हि प्रेत्य चेह च नन्दति ॥ (P. 8).

* Kautilya has often been compared with Machiavelli and recently many Indian writers have joined in his denunciation. Undoubtedly, both have some common resemblances. Both stand for the unity of their motherland and advocate out of necessity a policy of unmoral politics and inhuman diplomacy, provided the end is attained. As a result both these men, though sincere patriots, have suffered in the estimation of posterity.

Yet there are differences which cannot be ignored. Kautilya with his deep sympathy for the masses looks more to the solution of the primary problems of existence. He is a social philosopher and his suppleness enables him to devise a scheme of orderly government without sacrificing the interests of the governed. He shows deep insight into the real problems of man and is more of a social thinker than a believer in kingscraft. The latter art commended itself to him only because political life is the basis of social progress. In politics, he was not averse to the unmoral usages of the age since the conditions left no other way out. Left to himself, he would have chosen a better course. The same justification may be advanced for the other great man, but we are bound to notice that his outlook is narrower and his attention centred on the problems of Italian Union which was the sole remedy for Italian suffering. In worldly wisdom, in the knowledge of men and matters, and in the ways of outwitting enemies both can claim the same amount of pre-eminence. But the Indian has this advantage over his rival that with all the qualifications of the latter, he was a man of broader outlook and had a rare genius which made him go to the solution of the greatest problems of man.

Again व्यवस्थितार्यमर्यादः कृतवर्णान्मस्थितिः ।

तस्या हि रक्षितो लोकः प्रसीदति न सीदति ॥ (P. 8).

To speak in brief, he limits the sphere of royal authority or of state interference to those matters which concerned the material aspects of life directly, reserving to the individual complete freedom in matters of his higher self-realisation. The state was thus with him, not the highest existence, nor the king the supreme ruler of man's destinies. They were but the means to a greater and higher end

It may appear idle to dilate on the merits or demerits of his system, yet a few more words may not be out of place here to mark out the leading features of his political genius, the system he conceived or the means he advocated. Undoubtedly, he was the noblest exponent of the political ideals of monarchy in Ancient India. His genius attempted a synthesis of the ideas and theories of the past and he succeeded in devising a system in which the interests of the governor and the governed were identified and the authority of the executive power devoted solely to the prosperity of mankind. His genius conceived the ideal type of a paternal monarchy out of the traditions and principles of the past and his soul delighted in the prospect of a national king, having the same language, manners and customs as the ruled and living only in their interest—an ideal attained only in the 19th century (Arthaśāstra P. 403).

A believer in the institutions and traditions of his country, he was not averse to the happiness of mankind in the interest of an individual or a ruling section. He wished life and love to all and believed in human happiness through the co-operation of communities and interests. A Brahmin and conservative by nature, he was the foremost in raising his voice against slavery (when his contemporary, the noblest representative of pagan wisdom—

Aristotle, was justifying it) and did all that was possible to break the fetters of the slave.

The ends he advocated were just and noble; nor were his means ignoble or inhuman. He advocated unity—yet war was never his sole objective; unnecessary cruelty was never his guiding principle. He recognised the real place of 'force' in political existence, but he was averse to making it the object of his worship. In diplomacy too, he was not unwilling to outwit a crafty enemy, but beyond that he never made his way. His king was not to be an incarnation of craftiness, but one self-disciplined and above the frailties of ordinary men. Loyalty was to be the king's noblest asset and his only reward was to live for others.

The Asokan State Ideal : The Reaction and the Collapse.—

Under Candragupta and his son Bindusāra, the Kauṭīliyan system continued. But under Aśoka there came a change. At first, the Emperor carried on the traditional policy of his fathers but, after his conquest of Kalinga, there came a break with the past. The conqueror became penitent for his past cruelties. Repentance racked his frame and according to a tradition turned him into a disciple of a Buddhist monk. Lust for conquest vanished and made room for a violent reaction in favour of pacifism. It is doubtful whether Aśoka embraced Buddhism out and out, but anyhow it is clear that he came under the influence of forces which implanted in his mind a tender regard for the moral elevation of his subjects and at the same time a hatred for conquests or a rule by the sword. His kingly ideal changed. He lost sight of his primary political duties and turned a moral elevator of mankind. As his idealism waxed high, he regarded himself responsible for the good of his subjects not only in this world

but in that beyond. He came to believe in a moral obligation subsisting between him and his subjects who were his children and endeavoured to emancipate himself from this indebtedness.

(सवसुनिसे मम पजा.....अथ पजाये इहामि हकं किंति सवेन हिदसुखेन
हिदलोकिक पाललोकिकाये युजेवुति ! सुनिसेपि इहामि हकं)

Non-violence became his watch-word and toleration the keynote to his policy. Enforcing these at home, he thought of converting the world to his creed. His messengers went abroad and he himself thought of the regulation of discipline in the Buddhist order. Consequent upon these, the state became something more than a material or an ethical state. It tended to become a theocracy in which the royal position too was something extra-political—something divine. 'Devānām Priya'—'Dear unto the Gods' stood apart in divine isolation and sent forward his messengers and envoys whose trumpet blast sounded the passing away of the era of war and aggression and hailed the dawn of universal peace.

His energies were no longer confined to the bounds of his empire and he ceased to identify himself solely with his state or with his people. The imperial concept of duty too changed. No longer confined to the safety and protection of his subjects, its place was taken by something wider, something nobler and grander yet dreamy and incapable of realization—the propagation of *Dhamma* and the realisation of the noble idea of *Dhamma-vijaya*. This became its keynote. (See R. E. XIII.) In truth, the centre of interest shifted. The sphere of royal activity no longer remained confined to the narrow limits of politics but passed all bounds and corresponded with the whole world. The claims of world love (R. E. XIII) became predominant, the old paternal ideal lost its narrower significance and the older imperial traditions were swept away to make room for a new age and a

new world. Politics, government and king were all merged in the new movement. The state became an organisation for the universal moral propaganda—an agency not only for the preaching of universal brotherhood but also for the mental and moral elevation of mankind,—a celestial dream in which the state lost itself.

Great and glorious as this revolution was in the history of mankind, it gave rise to significant consequences. On the one hand, it ushered in the dawn of the spiritual conquest of the civilised world by the glorious traditions of Indian culture. Indian teachings spread throughout the Western world. Indian missionaries passed to the farthest bounds of the known world and India became great in the eyes of nations. Alexander's debt was paid but in quite a different manner. The Hellenes had succeeded in their mission of violence. In return, the brethren of the conquered repulsed violence by pacifism.

If such was the victory won in one sphere, in the other it meant disaster. The vast manifestation of energy exhausted the source of propagation. The edifice of the Empire became weak and tottered to its fall. Its defensive forces were neglected and consolidation stopped. The ideal of the secular state was lost sight of altogether. The machinery of government lacked motive force and gradually crumbled to dust. Discontent raised its head outside forces assailed and ruin was complete.

Wars of succession, the hatred of parties and the clash of conflicting religions sapped the last resources of the Empire and when the strong hand of a ruler like Aśoka was removed, the foreign foe again made his appearance on Indian soil. Her happy plains were swamped by successive races of savage conquerors. For nearly four centuries the plain of Hindustan became their hunting ground. The continuity of Indian political evolution was checked and India

(especially the North) had to wait till time exhausted the barbaric virility of the foreign ruler and gave her a respite to raise her head and reorganise her forces again.

In simpler language the disastrous results may be thus summarised. There was, first of all, a break in the continuity of development. Had the Empire retained its vigour, its institutions would have remained, modified perhaps to suit the needs of contemporary society. But with the irruption of foreign hordes, the struggle for existence arrested the normal development of the political machinery or the ideal.

Secondly, the fall of the empire checked the tendency towards the separation of politics from ethics and religion. The revival of Dharma idealism practically reversed the current of progress, and exercised an influence which continued for centuries and did not lose its force upon the ideals of a later age.

Consequently, the ideal of a secular state vanished and even when there came an opportunity for reconstruction, the state came to be associated more with a coercive central authority maintaining peace and order than an organisation which devoted most of its energies to the material progress of humanity.

These were the chief characteristics of the state as we find in the later Dharmaśāstras of which the earliest was the Manu-samhitā. The Smṛti writers all dwell upon the evils of anarchy and emphasise the need of coercion to maintain an ideal which evolved itself out of the reaction. The king was fast transformed into something like divinity and gradually the ideals of despotism became more and more prominent. The paternal ideal indeed continued to subsist but it came to be masked by other factors. The Arthaśāstra tradition was swept away and a purely secular ideal became a thing of the past.

Republican Thought and Idealism.

From the secular idealism of Kauṭilya or the pacifism of the great Emperor Aśoka we pass on to a consideration of the political aims and aspirations of the sturdy republicans of the North-Western borderland, who dared to check the progress of the world-conqueror whose genius had laid low the mightiest empire of Asia. To these sturdy mountaineers, nothing was so valued as their independence and self-governing institutions. Assailed by the greatest conqueror of antiquity, they refused to buy peace through submission. By his ravages, Alexander thought of striking terror into their hearts, but their spirit was not broken. Their armed hosts were defeated, they were massacred by thousands, many more were sold to slavery*, yet they could not be made to reconcile themselves to an existence of abject political serfdom.

It cannot be said that they achieved any striking military success. The real history of the war has not come down to us, yet, coloured as the accounts are, they form a brilliant chapter in the history of India, showing as they do that the vigour and obstinacy of these frontier tribes were sufficient to strike terror into the hearts of the Greeks. Their resistance alone broke the spirit of the Greeks and compelled the conqueror to retire without attempting a further eastern march.

No reliable accounts are preserved about them, except the admiring references of their enemies. Yet these are their greatest tributes and hold them up to posterity for their love of free government and of liberty. To them, the empire was a crime, and submission

* The story of the Hellenic invasion of N. W. India does not throw any favourable light on the manners and methods of those who claimed a position of cultural pre-eminence in the ancient world. The Indians were dealt with rather savagely. First came Alexander's treacherous massacre at Massaga. Then came needless slaughter and reduction to slavery. In the territory of Sambus 80,000 were sold as slaves while on the suspicion of revolt, Sambus was crucified and the Gymno-sophists cruelly hanged. *Arrian*, pp. 119, 159, 254, 306 and 313.

to the foreigner, the highest sin. Even the gymnosophists among them, the recluses, without earthly attachment, were not behind their warring brethren in this respect. The Greeks relate, how in the person of the naked and old Dandanius the world-conqueror found his 'more than a match' (*Megasthenes*, Frag. LV.). This naked recluse scoffed at the greatness of the conqueror, spurned his offers of reward and asked him to come to him if he wanted anything. With a love of nature, purer and brighter than that of the Greek citizen or of Rousseau, he preferred his free life rather than accept the proffered gifts of a foreigner who did nothing but disturb the peace of the world by his insolent greed and inhuman hankerings. The greatest conqueror of the world he looked upon as an outlaw who, however great he might have been, deserved nothing more than a grave's length of the earth's surface (*Mc. Crindles' Arrian*, p. 387). Even Kalanos (*Kalyāṇa*), who alienated the sympathy of his brethren, took exception to the riches of Alexander and treated with contempt his empire, which, in his eyes, was no better than "a piece of dry and shrivelled hide." Another sophist went so far as to take exception to the ideas of Sokrates since they had "too much deference to the laws and subjected their lives too much to their requirements." (*Arrian*, pp. 314-15).

To the Gymnosophist or the Bracmanoi, life offered no charm. Rather than live a life of submission, they preferred death. "The Bracmanoi", the Greeks relate, "yielded up few prisoners" (*Arrian*, pp. 143-44), and, as "they were men of spirit," they called upon the neighbouring princes to die rather than submit. Nothing could break their spirit and far from accepting mercy, they were eager to die, the earlier the better. (*Arrian*, pp. 313-14; Alexander's conversation with the ten Gymnosophists).

This was not all. They further disillusioned Alexander's men

when the latter claimed for their master the position of the son of Zeus. Greece had bowed to him and, Sparta excepted, everywhere Alexander had been accepted as a god. It was only on the Indian border that his divine pretensions were ridiculed. The Gymnosophists not only repudiated his claims but reminded him that, the son of a mortal, he was to taste death and that, of his empire nothing will remain to him but a few feet of the earth's surface to receive his body.*

* This is sufficient to open the eyes of those who find nothing but divine monarchy in India and claim for their countrymen nothing but an exclusive patent for obedience and veneration for their ruler.

Note on The Kautiliya

Since its discovery in 1905, the Kautiliya has furnished us with so much information on the Hindu art of government and has given rise to so many controversies, that we ought to devote some more attention to its contents and to the divergences of opinion among scholars on many points. In this section, the following topics will be dealt with :

- (a) The traditional date of the book and objections to its acceptance. Relation of the Kautiliya to the Epic tradition.
- (b) The socio-ethical outlook of Kautilya and his classification of the Sciences.
- (c) Kautilya's theory of the origin of kingship.
- (d) His aim and object in writing the Arthaśāstra.
- (e) His supposed contempt for traditional morality.
- (f) His imperialism and his views on inter-statal morality.
- (a) In regard to this topic, a detailed discussion is unnecessary in view of the fact that a considerable amount of polemical literature is already in existence. From the time when Hillebrandt objected to

the acceptance of the fourth century B.C. date to the present day, European and Indian scholars have done much to controvert one another's views. The chief objections to the accepted traditional date of the Kauṭīliya, as pointed out by Jolly or Winternitz, may be briefly summarised as follows (See Jolly's *Arthaśāstra*, Lahore, 1923, and Winternitz on Kauṭīliya, *Calcutta Review*, 1924):—

(1) The repeated occurrence of Kauṭīliya's name in the third person.

(2) The absence of Kauṭīliya's name or work in Megasthenes's account and in the Mahā-bhāṣya of Patāñjali.

(3) The discrepancy between the Arthaśāstra account and that of Megasthenes. The lateness of the Arthaśāstra is further proved by the deviations of the Arthaśāstra account from the information supplied by the Greeks. Thus, as pointed out by some scholars, Kauṭīliya speaks of mining monopolies, the employment of superintendents to manufacture coins, enumerates the names of more metals and alloys (including mercury) other than those known to the Greeks; he also speaks of premia on coins, taxes on gambling houses and liquors, and imposts like the roadcess, not mentioned in the Fragments. Furthermore, Kauṭīliya speaks of written documents in direct opposition to the Greeks, who say that Indians did not know writing. Again, according to the Greeks, land belonged to the king but this is not supported by Kauṭīliya's book.

(4) The late composition of the book is proved by the comparative evidence of literature. On this head, we have the occurrence of a verse of Bhāsa in the Arthaśāstra, similarity between some of the Arthaśāstra laws and those in the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, Kauṭīliya's knowledge of the Purāṇas and of the Kāmasūtra, details about more advanced political and social life compared with those in the

Epic, Kauṭilya's knowledge of astrology, the influence of planets and of metallurgy, mining, alchemy and architecture.

(5) Lastly, there is clearer evidence, supporting the late composition of the work, which is furnished by the occurrence of words like *Surungā* (borrowed from Gr. *Syrinx*) and *Cīna* (*Cīnapattāḥ* and *Cīna-bhūmijāḥ*), with which country the Indians were not acquainted before the second century B.C.

Many of these objections have already been answered by men like Jacobi. Mr. Jayaswal, a scholar and a lawyer, has weighed the force of these evidences and has not only refuted the arguments of Jolly but has furnished additional data for the fourth century B.C. (*Hindu Polity*, Pt. I, Appendix C). Winternitz's objections to the fourth century B.C. date elicited a spirited reply from Dr. N. Law, whose arguments have been summarised in his rejoinder (See Law's *Essays on Indian History and Culture*). Under such circumstances, the author of these pages would not have taken further trouble to give his own views here which were destined to appear in the second volume of his *Kauṭilya*. But as the publication of that book has been delayed and as the date of the *Kauṭilya* is an important topic, it has been thought necessary to give a summary of his objections to the third century A.D. date proposed by Drs. Jolly and Winternitz.

In regard to (1), no scholar ought to take the objection seriously. The use of the author's name in the third person is a peculiar Indian practice which has come down even to the present time.* We find the same practice with Patañjali, who calls himself Gonardīya, with poets like Rājaśekhara calling himself Yāyāvarīya, not to speak of vernacular poets like Kavir, Nānak and a host of others. In this

* Cf. Kulluka on Manu.

1. 2. प्रायेनावाधानमिदं शैली यत् स्वाभिप्रायमपि परोपदेशमिव वक्ष्यन्ति ।

century even an Indian poet of worldwide reputation uses his own name in the third person.

Again, the meaning of the name Kautilya, signifying crookedness, does nothing to prove the imaginary character of the author. We have still worse names like Śunaḥśepha or Piśuna in India, and Butcher, and Hog, among Europeans.

(2) The absence of Kautilya's name or work in the Greek accounts proves nothing. The original work of Megasthenes is lost and even if we had got it, there could not have been any occasion for his mentioning Kautilya's name.

(3) The supposed discrepancies between the Arthaśāstra and the Greek accounts should not be taken seriously. The information supplied by Megasthenes was partly from what he saw and partly from what he heard from others. It cannot be expected that Megasthenes' short stay in India enabled him to know all the secrets of the administration or that his informants always spoke the truth to a hated Yavana. Moreover, in all ages, foreign accounts are coloured by the imagination of the composer. Megasthenes, moreover, cannot claim an absolute patent for truth as his accounts are disfigured by silly stories about gold-digging ants, stones floating in rivers or men with enormous ears and one eye on their fore-head, which were all hearsay or the product of his Greek imagination. A foreigner, moreover, living at the royal camp, could not be expected to know or even to guess some of the details about the administration, like the monopoly of mines which were not situated in the capital.

Again, the arguments based merely on the conjectural discrepancies between the Arthaśāstra and the Greek accounts, should not have been advanced at all. There are more elements of similarity than of difference (see Dr. Law's article referred to above)

and in many cases discrepancies arise out of ignorance or the working of the Greek imagination. The ignorance of the Greeks cannot be cited as an evidence, especially where we have traditional Indian evidence to the contrary to advance. Thus, in regard to mining monopolies, the author has tried to prove that such monopolies were created by the avaricious Nandas. In regard to the manufacture of coins, we have no evidence to disprove it and the Greeks themselves clearly state that the Indians had coined money even at the time of Alexander. In regard to some other points we stand on surer grounds. Gambling-houses existed in India even in Vedic times and it cannot be regarded as improbable if the exacting government of the 4th century B.C. imposed a tax on gambling-houses. This latter course is rather natural, especially when we find the government so energetic as to regulate even the sale of meat or enforce the keeping of implements for putting down fire (*Milinda-Pañha*). In the case of taxes on liquor, we have surer evidence and the Jātakas speak of the Chāṭi-kahāpaṇa. (*Kauṭilya*—by the Author). The Greek statement about the Indian ignorance of the art of writing may be similarly dismissed and it is disproved by facts. In the 3rd century B.C. Aśoka issued his edicts written in Brāhmi and Kharoṣṭhi. No sane man can pretend that the two alphabets were invented all on a sudden. Another such Greek statement that the land belonged to the king deserves a similar treatment. Land in India never belonged to the king and on this we have the almost unanimous testimony of the Smṛtis and the Mīmāṃsā books. It was still less so in the 4th century B.C. The evidence of the Kauṭilya tallies with general Indian evidence, it should be accepted and the Greek evidence summarily rejected as pure fabrication like the stories of gold-digging ants or of one-eyed men.

(4) The arguments here are flimsy and hardly stand a critical

examination. A common *śloka* occurring in Bhāsa and in the Kautiliya proves nothing and the more so because there existed in India a mass of floating literature from which successive generations borrowed. Such is presumably the case in regard to the resemblances between the Kautiliya and the Yājñavalkya Smṛti. Here the chances are that the borrowing was *vice versa* and the author of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti borrowed from the Kautiliya as well as from the floating legal tradition, much of which is incorporated in the legal chapters of the Arthaśāstra. The author of this book has pointed out instances of such borrowing in his introduction to the *Kātyāyanamata-Saṅgraha* (Calcutta University, 1925). Kautiliya's knowledge of the Purāṇas does not prove the late composition of his book, but rather it establishes the antiquity of the Paurāṇic literature, which is clearly alluded to by the mention of the Bhaviṣya in the Āpastamba Dharmasūtra, (II. 24.6) which is regarded by most scholars as a work of the 5th Century B.C. if not earlier. Similarly, the mention of the Vaiśika chapter of the Kāmasūtra proves nothing but the high antiquity of the Kāmasūtra literature which is yet to be investigated.

Next, Kautiliya's knowledge of astrology and planetary influence cannot be advanced against the antiquity of the work. Belief in planets and stars is a characteristic of all ancient societies, and in India some of the later Brāhmanas as well as the Jātakas bear testimony to it and the author of this volume has identified a Jātaka verse in the Kautiliya (see Art. on Religion and Belief in Ancient India—*Journal of the second Oriental Conference*). Similarly, the high metallurgical knowledge displayed in the Kautiliya ought not to make out a case against the antiquity of the Arthaśāstra, and this plea should not be entertained at all except on the assumption that the Indians had no knowledge of the extraction of metals.

Facts disprove this contention. The art of extracting metals is as old as the Vedic period. The later *samhitās* speak of eight or nine metals and alloys and the Greeks themselves speak highly of the quality of Indian steel. In regard to mercury, we have no clear evidence either way and it should not be taken seriously. Such is also the contention on the ground of architectural development. Facts nullify the value of such suggestions, since within half a century of Kautilya's time, the great edifices of Aśoka were constructed and this could not rise all on a sudden.

(5) Lastly, we are to discuss the value of the argument advanced on the basis of the occurrence of the two words *Suruṅgā* and *Cīna*. The similarity between Skt. *Suruṅgā* and Gr. *Syrinx* was pointed out long ago by Weber in the *Indian Antiquary* (1873, p. 144 Col. 2. Art. on Greek words in Sanskrit literature). Assuming for argument's sake that the word *suruṅgā* is borrowed from the Greeks, it is impossible to understand why that should be an argument to establish the late composition of the *Arthaśāstra*. The Indians came in contact with the Greeks before and after Alexander. Even denying the existence of a Graeco-Indian intercourse before Alexander, would it be unnatural to hold that the word *Suruṅgā* became wellknown to the Indians, on account of the marvellous success of the mining tactics of the Greeks against Sangala, and against Sambus and the Molloi, some of whose citadels were easily captured* by them entering through tunnels. In our own days, the great war has helped in large borrowings of words from the vocabulary of one nation to that of another in course of

* Read Curtius Rufus's account of the conquest of the capital of Sambus. The Greeks constructed a tunnel up to the middle of the city and the Indians were bewildered to find "armed men rising out of the ground in the middle of their city." (MC. Crindle's *Invasion of India*, p. 254). Weber attributes the occurrence of *Suruṅgā* to the bellico-political relations between the Greeks and the Hindus.

a few years (cf. *Poilou*, *Camouflage*, *Sabotage* etc. in the English language).

The meaning of the word *Cina* requires investigation. At present we have no means of ascertaining as to who were designated by this name or to which country it was applied. To identify off-hand *Cina* with the country of China (supposed to derive the present name from the T'sin dynasty) and then to argue that there was no direct intercourse between India and China, in the fourth century B.C. and then to make out a case against the traditional date is based on a series of 'a priori' assumptions. Rather than do this, it would be reasonable to hold that *Cina* was the country which bordered on India and was familiar to Indians on account of the already existing trade relations and was so called as it was ruled by T'sin princes, who were already powerful in the 7th century B.C. (See Schoff's *Periplus* p. 126).

The arguments against the fourth century B. C. thus all fail, and in the absence of direct evidences to establish a late date, it is but natural to stick to the traditional date of the work. The internal evidences in the book strongly support Kautilya's authorship and we have three statements to that effect; viz., in the end of the introduction (p. 6: *Kauṭilyena kṛtaṁ śāstram* etc.), in the middle (p. 75: *Kauṭilyena narendrārthe* etc.) and in the end (p. 429: *Yena śāstram ca śāstram ca Nandarājagatā ca bhūḥ | Amarṣenoddhṛtānījāśu tena śāstramidam kṛtam*). While in addition we have two or three passages where the author uses verbs of the first person (p. 235) (*cakṣhyāmaḥ*).

This fourth century B.C. date is thus not only supported by Indian tradition, but its non-acceptance militates against the current of general evidence supplied by Indian social and political literature.

In what age, except that preceding Aśoka, can we expect penal laws against the Śākyas and Ājīvikas? Certainly not after Aśoka, when Buddhism stood so high. In what later age can we expect a dissertation on the political *maṇḍala* except that before the establishment of the Mauryas? In what age, moreover, can we expect customs like *niyoga*, or the divorce and remarriage of women, accepted in society? Certainly not after the Brahmanical reaction under the Sungas, but before it. Again, when we carefully analyse the social picture and the political ideals in the book, we are bound to come to the conclusion that the Arthaśāstra describes a stage of social evolution which succeeded the age of the great monastic propaganda and which saw the movement for imperial unity going on in full vigour. The book, as we have it, represents the current of thought of the fourth century B.C. Of course, it is not impossible that there may be later additions or interpolations, but there is no one competent to swear against these.

As to the relation between the Epic tradition and the Kauṭīliya, there are potent arguments which make Kauṭīliya an inheritor of the maxims and lessons of the Epic. Kauṭīliya's book is based on the accepted canon of political guidance, discussed at great length in the Śānti-parvan. There may be later additions or rehandlings in course of which later materials or the names of foreign invaders were put in, but still the Epic describes a simpler political life. The idea of imperialism or the war of the Maṇḍala is absent in the Epic chapters. But at the same time the Epic contains the floating tradition or the parables which Kauṭīliya utilises and for the explanation of which we must go to the Epic. Kauṭīliya bases all his directions upon these and he sees no reason for explaining his own standpoint, because the maxims and principles of the Epic were already too well known. This is the case with the account of

Mātsyanyāya, of the election of Manu to kingship, or the mention of *Vaitasī Vṛtti*. Kauṭilya knew, moreover, the parables and the teachings of the Epic and he makes a free use of its lessons. He alludes to the destruction of Rāvaṇa through violence to women, he alludes to the evils of dice-play and mentions the cases of Nala and Yudhiṣṭhira. In some of his political maxims we find the same influences. One instance can be easily cited, namely in his dissertations on the importance of *Kāla* or proper time, he alludes to the war between the crow and the owl and the success of the latter during the night. Clearly it is a direct allusion to the lessons of the *Sauptika-parvan*. Kauṭilya's indebtedness is further proved by verses borrowed either from the Epic or from the floating tradition embodied later in the Epic. Thus, it is reasonable to hold that the political canon embodied in the *Śānti-parvan* existed prior to Kauṭilya and the latter fully utilised it.

(b) The socio-ethical outlook of Kauṭilya requires definition. No one among Indian political thinkers has been so misunderstood as the author of the *Arthaśāstra*. He was neither a revolutionary cutting at the root of the existing social fabric nor a bigot of the no-change school. His aim was to ensure human happiness through the agency of the monarchical state and he strove hard to define the functions and duties of the king so as to bring these into line with the material requirements of his subjects.

He belonged to the *Artha* school and so emphasised the importance of *Artha* in human life. *Artha* was of highest importance since *Dharma* and *Kāma* depended on it (अर्थे एव प्रधानः, सर्वमूलो हि धर्मकामौ Kau. p. 12). Apart from the attainment of the three namely, *Dharma*, *Kāma* and *Artha*, the material objectives of human aspiration depended on the realisation of the four,

viz. maintenance of those already possessed, aspiration for those not yet attained, enhancement of those attained and the proper enjoyment or distribution of things attained. The *trivarga* or the three main objectives are allied to each other and over-attention to one or either of the three destroys the balance of life. Hence proper attention should be paid to each of these. Even joy has its place in life according to Kauṭilya and nobody should think of shunning joys in life.*

Next men are to learn their conduct in life from the śāstras and thereby to discipline themselves. Overgreed or excess of passion makes man forget himself in society and causes troubles to others and these in the long run destroy the happiness of all.†

Self-discipline, again, is according to Kauṭilya the primary condition of success in life whether for ordinary individuals or for kings. Next to is knowledge which is to be acquired through association with the learned (वृद्धसंयोगेन प्रज्ञाः) and last of all comes the effort to attain the objective through exertion (utthāna).

Discipline again is either spontaneous, or comes through a course of training (कृतकः स्वाभाविकश्च विनयः). At the root of both stands the principle of regulation or coercion which thus is the basic element in ordered life or progress (विनयमूलो दण्डः प्राणभृतां योगक्षेमावहः). Daṇḍa, therefore is a primary principle in human progress and serves as the basis even of the *vidyās*. To gain their objectives men (especially kings) should always hold the rod of punishment (लोकयात्रार्थी नित्यमुद्यतदण्डः स्यात्). Punishment however should be requisite to the occasion, neither greater

* धर्माद्याविरोधिन कामं संवेत । न निःसुखः स्यात् । सप्त वा विश्वमन्योत्यानुवन्त । एकोऽन्यासंविती धर्माद्यैकामानामितरौ पीडयति ।

† एवं बभूवुर्द्वयः परस्त्रीद्वयार्द्धसाय बर्जयेत् । सुप्रवीत्यमदृतमुद्वतवेगलमनसंयोग'च ।—Kau. p. 12.

nor less than that required by circumstances (यथाहं दण्डः पूज्यः
p. 9 and (दण्डमूलास्तिमो विद्याः)

The science of *Danḍa*, together with *Ānvīkṣikī*, *Traṇḍī* and *Vārttā* constituted, according to Kauṭilya, all the sources of knowledge. Each of these helped man in deciding his line of conduct and in pointing out the way to success. According to Kauṭilya, the *Traṇḍī* or the Vedas teach men to discriminate *Dharma* from *Adharma*. *Vārttā* teaches the road to attain material objectives while *Danḍanīti* helps in discriminating true policy from impolicy by laying down the line of demarcation between right and wrong. Lastly *Ānvīkṣikī* enables man to apply his reason in order to weigh the forces on either side, gives him wisdom enough to choose the line of success and helps to maintain his mental balance in times of success or disaster. It is, in his words, the light of all knowledge, the means of all undertakings, the basis of all *Dharma* and as such it is the imperishable essence of all (knowledge).*

Kautilya's enumeration of the sciences explains his own standpoint. He appears before us as a rationalist emphasising the high importance of reason and speculative philosophy and at the same time a believer in the traditional canon laid down in the *Trayī*. The *Vedas* are objects of veneration for him, as well as the *Purāṇas* and *Itihāsas*, since they embody the lessons of the past. His faith in the past makes him reject the extreme opinions of the materialistic *Bārhaspatyas* or the teaching of unscrupulous kingcraft emanating from the School of *Śakra*. In him, there

* चमोधर्मी तथम् । चमोधर्मी चर्मोद्यम् । यद्यप्यसौ दन्तरोषी वलाचले चेताः क्षुत्तिरलोचमाना
लोकलोपकरोति व्यसनेभ्यश्चैव न बुद्धिमवस्थापयति प्रजायाः कांकिाभैरप्येव करोति ।

प्रदीपः सर्वविद्यानां उपायः सर्वकर्मणाम् ।

आयसः सर्वधर्माणां प्रवृत्तानां प्रकीर्तिता मताः । कृ. पृ. ७-

is no violent break with the past or a revolutionary tendency to destroy. He is for maintaining the natural order of men and of the castes and he stands forth as the champion of Varna and Āśrama. As he himself says :—

तस्माद् स्वधर्मे भूतानां राजा न व्यभिचारयेत् ।
 स्वधर्मे सन्दधानो हि प्रेत्य चेह च नन्दति ॥
 व्यवस्थितार्यमर्यादः कृतवर्णायमस्थितिः ।
 वय्या हि रक्षितो लोकः प्रसीदति न सीदति ॥

With a synthesis of the ideals of the past and an attention to the requirements of the present he stood for a well-ordered and regulated social life and pleaded for the authority of a paternal king enforcing and guiding social co-operation. Conservative as he was, he pleaded for justice and protection to all. Inequalities of treatment indeed existed, yet in his own archaic society Kauṭilya pleaded for better principles and practices. Averse to the extreme teachings of kingcraft, he denounced the demoralisation of princes, or the unscrupulous seizure of the throne by crafty ministers. He wished to ensure impartial justice, inveighed against judicial tortures, vindicated the natural rights of womanhood, inspite of the reactionary tendencies of the age, admitted men of the lowest castes into the pale of the Hindu society and in that age of darkness and violence wished to abolish slavery altogether. (For further details see my Kauṭilya—Vol. I.)

(c) *Theory of kingship.* — As to kauṭilya's theory of the origin of kingship, already something has been said, but an additional discussion is here necessary to refute the erroneous views of some writers who pretend to find in the Kauṭīliya, the divine nature of the royal office. As we have already said, Kauṭilya like some of his Epic predecessors, regarded the state of nature

as a state of war. (See II, pp. 55 and 56). According to what he puts in the mouth of his propagandist spies, he clearly accepts the theory of the origin of monarchy in election. The first king among men was Vaivasvata Manu who was elected to save men from Mātsya-nyāya. Clearly here he follows the tradition which is found even in the Rigveda (see ante pp. I. 83 & 84) and later on we have in the Epic, the same story of Manu's election (Śanti, Ch. 67). Not only does he regard kingship as arising out of election, but he emphasises the contractual relationship between the king and the people which as we have already seen found favour with the Epic thinkers as well as the Dharmasūtra writers.

For a clear understanding of Kauṭilya's position a consideration of the above passage is necessary. It runs as follows :—

मातृस्यन्यायाभिभूताः प्रजा मनं वैवर्षत राजानं चक्रिरे । धान्यपङ्कभागं
पण्यदशभागं हिरण्यं चास्य भागधेयं प्रकल्पयामासुः । तेन भूता राजानः प्रजानां
योगक्षेमवद्वाः तेषां कित्त्वियमदण्डकरा हरन्ति ।तस्मात् उच्छिषद्भागमा-
रण्यका अपि निवपन्ति "तस्यैतद् भागधेयं योऽस्मान् गोपायतीति" । इन्द्रधम-
स्मानमेतत् राजानः प्रत्यचहेडप्रसादाः । तानवमन्यमानान् देवोऽपि दण्डः सृजति ।
तस्माद्राजानो नावमन्तव्याः ।

i.e. "The people tormented by Mātsya-nyāya, made Manu their king [in the remote past]. They assigned to him a sixth part of grain and a tenth part of articles of trade and gold, as his share (to be paid by people). Maintained by these (nourished—Bhṛta—note the same word is used by Bodhāyana) kings [following Manu] exert in maintaining the safety and prosperity of their subjects and partake of their sins if they violate the principle of just punishment or taxes. Such being the facts, even hermits pay to the king the sixth part of their gleanings, on the ground 'that he who protects them is entitled to this share on account of his

protection.' As the king is the visible awarder of rewards and punishments, he performs the functions of Indra and Yama. If men insult kings, [without reason] they are sure to be visited by divine anger. Hence no one should insult kings."

By no stretch of imagination can this passage be taken to prove Kauṭilya's belief in kingship as a divine institution. He speaks of election and of the royal share as being paid in lieu of the king's protection. The same argument put in the mouth of hermits makes it clearer. Towards the end, the king's functions are compared to those of Indra and Yama and here we have only an allusion to the parallelism of their duties. The reference to Daiva anger makes out no case in favour of the divine nature of royalty and it is the natural mode of expression in a country where the influence of the Karma theory made men always alive to the supreme dispensation of divine justice, even when the mundane agents failed in their duties.

That Kauṭilya looked upon monarchy as a human institution, and that he believed in a real contractual relation subsisting between subjects and the king is proved by various other circumstances. All throughout, he warns kings against the evils of misgovernment and speaks of the loss of their authority through the revolt of subjects. Nowhere does he speak of the duty of subjects to obey a monarch unconditionally. The king's happiness again depends on the prosperity of his subjects and the king is bound to make good the loss to his subjects caused by thieves and robbers. Loyalty of subjects was the highest asset of the king (अनुयोगे सार्वगुणं) and he was to live solely for them. Under these circumstances, to speak of Kauṭilya as a believer in divine kingship would be nothing but hopeless perversion of truth, caused by sheer ignorance.

(d) Kauṭilya's ideas about the functions of the state have

already been discussed with a view to interpret his scheme of good government in terms of modern political thought, but nothing has yet been said as to his real political ideal or the objective which impelled him to compose his celebrated treatise.

Kauṭilya's treatise is an Arthaśāstra and is to be differentiated from works devoted to the attainment of Dharma, Kāma or Mokṣa. In it, he concentrates his attention on the realisation of material objectives and yearns after the social happiness of man through a political discipline ensuring life and property, regulating the scope of activity of individuals and classes, and giving each individual all proper chances for gaining their objectives. The aim of his work, as he himself says was two-fold, *e.g.*

(I) guidance of princes (esp. of the Maurya King) in the ways of acquiring land (kingdoms)

(II) maintenance and protection of subjects.

The object of the Arthaśāstra was to guide men in *lābha* and *pālana* (पृथिव्या लाभपालनोपायः शास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रम्—Artha is nothing but the material objective of man—more especially in regard to men living on earth—मनुष्याणां हित्तिरर्थः मनुष्यवर्तुभूमिरित्यर्थः pp. 1 and 424).

So far as *pālana* is concerned, we have already given its true significance especially with Hindu Political thinkers. The king was not to remain satisfied with performing political duties, but he had to concentrate his attention on the ways and means of their realising true material happiness. According to Kauṭilya, the king to ensure *pālana* or good government had to devote his attention to the following, after completing his own education and self-discipline, *e.g.* Maintenance of the social order as laid down in the *Śruti* and traditional canon; creation of ministers; constitution of the Higher Executive Body (also spiritual guides); constitution of an Advisory Council; appointment of Judges; employment

of spies and diplomatic agents ; selection and employment of officers for revenue collection ; arrangements for police ; proper keeping of accounts and audit ; appointment of officials and superintendents to carry on the work of supervision ; constitution of law courts ; maintenance and organisation of the army and navy with a view to protection of life and property and protection from foreign invasion ; active help to the cause of education, industry and commerce ; maintenance of the poor and the indigent ; safety of the people from famine, pestilence or flood ; regulation of wages of labourers ; of prices and profits of merchants so as to put an end to exploitation by capitalists ; eradication of menaces to peace ; measures for enforcing administrative laws ; suppression of corruption of officials and Judges and of Treason.

Furthermore, to ensure the real happiness of the people, due attention was to be paid to improve the economic resources of the state. The king's share was to be collected, natural sources of profit were to be tapped and the revenue properly applied to maintain internal peace and prosperity (Cp. Kautilya's views on Vārtā—कृषिपाशुपाल्ये वणिज्या च वार्त्ता.....तथा स्वपक्षं परपक्षंच वशीकरोति कोशदण्डाभ्याम् p. 8).

This is the brief summary of Kautilya's aims objectives and means of good government which is repeated for the convenience of our readers.

But good government was not the only ideal of the great teacher nor the sole lesson which he intends for his disciples. With him it was the starting point for higher ambitions. His ideal king was to be an empire-builder and his book was to serve as a manual for the guidance of such ambitious Princes. More than half of the book is devoted to the ways and means of

realising this high ambition. From the sixth book, the rest of the work deals with a consideration of the time, place, and circumstances as well as the means which enable a prince to entertain the idea of world-conquest and the means of realising it.

In the sixth book (on Maṇḍala-yoniḥ) Kauṭilya discusses the agencies that influence human actions (*Daiva* and *Mānuṣa*) and the conditions of political equilibrium which we shall discuss very soon. In the chapter on *śūḍḡuṇyam* he enquires into the nature of the relations of states with regard to one another and defines the "Six-fold policy" of peace and war, inertness and movement, alliance or dubious attitude (*सन्निविद्यहयानासनसंययद्वैधीभावाः षाड्गुण्यं*) p. 261) and enunciates general rules which guide the relations of states. After this section, he devotes himself at great length to the calamities of kingdoms, the causes thereof and the ways of averting them (on *Vyasanādhikārikam*). The ninth book discusses the time, circumstances and the conditions favouring offensive operations (*अभियास्यं कर्म*). The tenth book (*Sāṅgrāmikam*) is devoted to the ways and means of waging war, the eleventh discusses the means of winning over political corporations (*Saṅgha-vṛttam*), the twelfth (*Ābaliyasam*) instructs weak kings as to their attitude to the conqueror, while in the thirteenth we have the means of capturing fortresses, and in the fifteenth (*Tantra-yukṭi*) explanations of technical terms. The fourteenth book is devoted to magical rites and charms for granting success in various objectives.

The reasons which impelled Kauṭilya to devote so much of his attention to war and conquest and to look to the establishment of an Imperial authority are not far to seek. The movement for the unification of North India was going on in his time and such a unification was made desirable by the daring inroad of the Greeks

under Alexander who brought home to Indians the horrors of foreign conquest. Other factors influenced his mind and he recognised the necessity of reviving the All-India empire which alone was destined to give peace to the country (compare his allusion to the Cakravarti-kṣetram, pp. 338, e.g. देशः पृथिवी, तस्यां हिमवत्-समुद्रान्तमुदीचीनं योजनसहस्रपरिमाणं अतिर्यक्चक्रवर्त्तिचेद्वं). In his eyes, India was naturally destined for her prosperity and progress to remain under one Imperial power—a fact which has been demonstrated many times by the subsequent history of the country.

Yet, there were hinderances to it. The ancient world hardly knew any stable political equilibrium. States and peoples could not easily make up their differences, nor submit to one government without prejudicing their own interests or sacrificing their own political sentiments, while natural causes contributed to their mutual hostilities. Kaṭilya tried to investigate the nature of these and laid down the conditions determining the existence of natural friendship or hostility, the means of maintaining the safety of a prince in the circle of states and the ways of attaining paramountcy in it.

In this unstable political condition, states were liable to devote their attention to the two objectives namely, maintenance of security (*kṣema*) or acquisition (*Yoga*), and on these desires depended peace (*śama*) and activity (*vyāyāma*) respectively. Again, states were liable either to remain in a stationary condition or else to progress or decay (*Kṣaya*, *Vṛddhi* or *Sthāna*). Improvement in political condition depended on strength (*Bala*) and this was of three varieties i.e. strength arising out of political wisdom or diplomatic sagacity (*Jñānabala—mantra-śakti*), natural resources (financial and military resources) and military activity (*utsāha-śakti* and these lead to three kinds of success (*Siddhiḥ—Sukham*).

With all these, deterioration is to be avoided, efforts to be made for maintenance of the acquired position and with better opportunity paramountcy is to be sought for.

In an unstable political condition, states or princes had no guarantee for their existence and the slightest disturbance was sure to lead to universal unrest. States strengthened their position by means of alliances and such an alliance was sure to give rise to a counter-alliance. At the root of alliances or hostilities work some natural principles and according to Kaṭilya, a state has a natural enemy in an adjacent state, while a state which is separated by a buffer state from the first becomes an enemy's enemy and hence a friend. Similarly, we have an enemy's friend and a friend's friend. Kaṭilya takes into account states in the fifth degree and according to him, a state with its friends and friends' friends etc. constituted a circle of states. Similarly we have the circle of state of the enemy, of the Madhyama king and the Udāsina king, about whom no further details are given since these will be out of place here.

Next to the enunciation of natural causes of friendship or enmity Kaṭilya investigates the conditions of war, peace, neutrality or the assumption of a dubious attitude. He lays down a number of political maxims, the value of which may still be appreciated in our modern world. Certainly, these in themselves form an interesting study, though beyond the scope of a work on polity. Here only the briefest summary of his views on interstate relations is given e.g.

(a) He recognizes the importance of 'force' in politics, since without it, a state cannot think even of peace through an alliance with a powerful state. (तेजो हि सन्धानकारणं नातमलोद्धोहेन सन्धते ।)

(b) A weak state should strengthen itself by an alliance with

a more powerful state. It might if circumstances permitted wage war on a weaker power.

(c) When war and peace bring equal profits, peace is to be preferred. (सन्धिविग्रहयोस्तुल्यायां वृद्धौ सन्धिसुपेयात् ।)

(d) In all offensive undertakings, care must be taken to protect the rear from attacks, and a proper selection of time and place be made (Bk. IX., pp. 337-9).

(e) Care should be taken to ensure the contentment of subjects at home, while discontent may be fomented in the enemy's country by means of bribes or other active propaganda work.

(f) At the proper opportunity, war should be waged, after completely safeguarding one's own position and care should be taken to assail the enemy in his vital points and in his moments of difficulty.

(g) The conqueror should constantly add to his strength and exert in the weakening of his rivals.

(h) Real allies are to be sought for and corporations are to be won over.

(i) The direct enemy is to be conquered first, then the Madhyama and the Udāsīna are to be assailed. Or, the enemy's subjects may be won over first, then more remote conquests attempted. By this principle the territories of friends or enemies are to be acquired.

(j) Having completed his conquests, the conqueror should aim at consolidation by re-establishing peace and order, winning over the people by rewarding the virtuous, by removing the distress of the people, by improving the laws, by introducing new methods of adding to the wealth of the country and by adopting even the language, manners and customs of the people.

The aim of Kautīliyan diplomacy was primarily to attain the threefold objective, *e.g.* (a) preservation of the territory already

in hand, (b) recovery of that lost previously (c) and the acquisition of new lands. By the continuance of such a policy, universal dominion was to be attained, provided the would-be conqueror had the requisite wisdom, the necessary resources and the proper opportunity. Lastly, when paramountcy was attained or conquest completed, the first duty of the conqueror was to re-establish peace and restore the economic prosperity of the people.

With all his faith in the establishment of a paramount power, Kauṭilya is not an advocate of ruthless conquests. He assigns a higher position to the conqueror who is satisfied with the acknowledgment of his suzerainty (*Dharma-vijayī*), and denounces a policy of wanton destruction (*Asura-vijaya*) or of excessive greed and exploitation (*Lobha-vijaya* Kau. pp. 380-82). In some places, he advocates the retention of conquered princes in their principalities on terms of loyalty and service (Kau. pp. 308-310). He is moreover averse to unnecessary sufferings inflicted on the enemy's combatants, as would appear from his directions against setting fire to forts and cities (K. p. 403). War was never his objective, since, he preferred success attained through diplomacy to that won by bloodshed, and directed princes never to go to war, unless it was the last alternative and the only means of attaining success (338-339).

All these topics, however, are dealt with in such a way as to make Kauṭilya's directions applicable to all possible cases and all times and conditions. Some European scholars have, however, harped on the theme that Kauṭilya's work was intended for a small kingdom. At first sight, this receives credence, but a thorough enquiry makes us believe that the end and aim of his work was to further the establishment of a paramount power in India which was a Cakravartī-kṣetram. The fourth chapter of the thirteenth book (Kau. p. 405) lays down clearly the

four ways of conquering the earth (मार्गः पृथिवीं जेतुम्) and this is followed by that remarkable chapter which gives us the measures for consolidating sovereignty. This vein of imperialism in Kautilya is further indicated by his broad political outlook and the comprehensive economic data supplied by his book. The chapters on gems and valuables to be accepted in the treasury enumerate the products of all the different localities of India, from Viṣi and Mahāviṣi and Nepal and Cīna in the Himalayan region to the extreme south including Tāmraparṇī, Ceylon and the various localities of Malabar. In the east we are carried to the region of Pundra, Magadha and even the country beyond the Lauhitya, while in the west Kāpisa and Gāndhāra are enumerated in connection with varieties of wines. Gāndhāra and Prārjunaka figure in the Criminal Code (on Vākpāruṣya). Again, his conqueror is not to remain satisfied with the wealth of the north, but must hanker after the gold, gems and minerals of Dakṣiṇāpatha (p. 298). These are significant facts and point to no other conclusion than that the author of the Arthaśāstra born and bred in an atmosphere of growing imperialism had the only ambition in writing out his treatise of making his disciple and *protégé*, the universal ruler of India. This receives the strongest support from the statements of his successors including even his detractor Bāṇa who condemns him for his advocacy of an imperial power after "the extermination of thousands of royal families".

(f) Last of all, we come to the discussion of the important topic of Kautilya's supposed disregard for morality. Here, the *prima facie* evidence is very strong against him. His book is a repository of all the crooked political principles which were current in his days. Certainly, it leads up to an atmosphere of universal suspicion and distrust and gives us all the leading traits of an unscrupulous

age and an unmoral political existence. Kautilya himself, too, countenances the use of means and methods which in our days are sure to cause a revulsion of feeling. He advocates an extensive spy system, calls upon princes to put their trust in none—not even in their wives and sons, and in diplomacy, advocates dissimulation to outwit an enemy, a rival and a friend even, when the fullest advantages have been realised from his services. In war, he advocates the employment of active spies, the bribing of the enemy's chief officers, fomentation of discord in the enemy's country, the creation of division in the enemy's camp and the assassination of the enemy's leaders.

Certainly, these do not hold him out in a favourable light or make him appear as a man of inscrutable moral principles. Looked at from the absolute moral standpoint, he deserves censure. But, with all these, we must not go too far and forget the fact that his game was politics and not morality and the age in which he lived was responsible for many of these. Politics from time immemorial to our own times has never been free from these things nor will it ever be so until the chances of war and aggrandisement are removed for ever. Again, much of his censure is due to the fact that he was unfortunate in enumerating the vices and vicious practices of which he was not the originator but which existed in his own days. Ideas change and have changed immensely from his days to the present age and it will be unfair to accuse him by judging him according to our elevated standard of morality.

Again, with all his acceptance of the means and methods of his age,—since he had no other way out, we find in him no denunciation of virtue or an acceptance of immorality or its glorification. For though in many cases he inclines towards the acceptance of

unscrupulous means leading to success, we find in him a clear denunciation of ignoble means when they affect vital principles. And on these heads, he appears to be nothing but a reformer and a moralist compared with his predecessors. Thus, he will never agree to the violation of the law of property or family and emphasises the importance of discipline for kings. He will not consent to the degradation of royal princes by wine or women, since the degradation of princes was sure to affect the fortunes of the country. Next, he will not consent to ministerial usurpation or such other unscrupulous measures. In war, too, he was opposed to the infliction of unnecessary sufferings on non-combatants.

To sum up, the author of the Arthaśāstra cannot be condemned for his innate crookedness or his denunciation of virtue. The worst that could be condemned in him is his acceptance of the usages of the age. Even in this, his objective was to outwit villainy through villainy and he surely stands on a higher level than Machiavelli who finds an object of admiration in that human monster Borgia.

Furthermore, though our ideas have changed and our methods modified, yet many of the vicious practices for which we denounce this ancient writer subsist even to our own days. Even to-day, we have an extensive employment of active spies not only to gather information but to inflict injury on the enemy, espionage on a larger scale, poisoning of water, inoculation of diseases, bombing of cities, starvation of non-combatants, disregard for the interests of weaker nations and a desire for conquests in the case of the greater powers of the world. The political history of the period before the world war, and the events of that conflict prove the truth of the above statement. A reaction against militarism has brought into existence the League of Nations,

but it would be long before the principles and practices of men and nations are changed*.

* The author has entered into a detailed discussion of this topic in the second volume of his *Kauṭilya* and has attempted to support his line of argument with parallels from Medieval and Modern History. Certainly, judged by abstract principles or by an absolute standard of morality, the moral principles of *Kauṭilya* are not very high. But as no such abstract principles exist in politics even in our own days, much of this adverse criticism is unmerited. Compared with our standards, the Greek and Roman methods were inhuman and let us hope that a more humane generation will denounce the diplomacy and methods of warfare of our own times.

BOOK EIGHT

**Foreign Invasions and Resurrection
(2nd Cen. B.C. to 3rd Cen. A. D.)**

The fall of the empire was the greatest catastrophe in the political history of Ancient India. It checked further political progress, destroyed the continuity of development, and the traditions and institutions of the Empire received a rude shock. For the next four centuries, the greater part of northern and western India became the exploiting ground of barbarians who once bowed before Indian greatness and whose pretensions had been kept in check by the might of the Indian Emperor.

Fraught with the gravest political consequences as this period was, it was remarkable for momentous social and political changes, which were partly the outcome of foreign influence and partly the product of a reaction which it brought about. In the foreigners who came and settled on Indian soil, the country received new and more virile ethnic elements with peculiar social and political ideas. The contact of races brought in a commixture of ideas which acted and reacted on each other and thus made room for a new social and political order. The barbarian with his low culture could not think of the sweeping away of the culture of the conquered, but became eager to assimilate it and to pride upon his transformation. In course of a few generations, the barbarian rulers and races became Hinduised, gave up their old names and assumed Hindu styles and titles. Many

of them became converts to one or other of the Indian faiths and became the votaries of Indian gods or religious teachers.

The peculiar ideas and instincts of the foreign conquerors strengthened the forces and factors which had been long working in favour of the Bhāgavata religion, characterised by the prominence it gave to a beneficent and ever-active personal god, ready to be won over by the faith of the devotee, as opposed to the *Paramātman* or *Brahman* of mere philosophical abstractions conceived as the inert yet everpresent principle underlying the eternal changes and modifications of the phenomenal world. Faith took the place of higher knowledge as the true road to salvation. The attributes of the divinity were interpreted in terms of those of man and with the predominance of humanistic principles, the doctrine of incarnation became more and more deep-rooted in men's minds. The religion of exclusion and meditation gave way to one of active devotion, manifested and characterised by charity, pilgrimage, the glorification of the divine bounty through artistic temples and monuments and by gorgeous rites and penances.

This Bhāgavata religion was the outcome of a desire long felt for a path of salvation through the fervour of faith and active social work and the worship of concrete objects of veneration typifying abstract principles. Such a hankering on the part of the commonalty had already transformed Buddha himself into the nucleus for a theistic element and he became the god in a system, which had explained the phenomena of changes, through the errors of senses falsely attributing a reality to the really non-existent. Of the Bhāgavata systems, the chief were *Theistic Buddhism*, *Vaiṣṇavism* and *Śaivism*. Most of the hardier barbarians like the Śakas and Kuśānas embraced Śaivism, while Buddhism

and Vaishnavism appealed to the more cultured and enervated half-Greeks of Bactria.

Next to this, politics was deeply influenced and modified. Repeated irruptions and changes of hand of provinces led to the rise of families of local rulers who ensured personal safety by transferring their allegiance from time to time to more powerful conquerors. Feudal principles thus gradually gained ground. The king's powers and prerogatives, too, increased day by day. The Central Asian Conquerors brought with them the idea of the king's divinity. Indigenous thinkers, too, extolled the king's position, since anarchy made men look to him as the people's saviour through appointment by the Almighty. Religion made a deeper impression on politics. The new princes attributed their success to the grace of their presiding family-gods and made a reverential reference to them in their official styles and titles.

Furthermore, the age of foreign conquest transferred for a time the centre of political life (so far as the indigenous people were concerned) from the north to the south. The south became for a time the stronghold of Indian political life and traditions and the southerner so long looked down upon by the men of the north became the champions of Indianism. Secure in his distant natural defences and strongholds, he proved his tenacity and showed those qualities which conferred on him political greatness.

This successful resistance on the part of the southerner created in him a political consciousness which gave rise to a separatist tendency in later Indian history. A few centuries later, India freed herself from the foreign yoke, but henceforth, the political supremacy of the north over the south was almost a thing of the past. The southerner rolled back the tide of northern conquest and, conscious of a separate political destiny, with

cultural peculiarities and distinct dialects and vernaculars, came to hanker after a separate political existence. For the next few centuries after the resurrection, India became divided more or less into four distinct political *littorals*, viz.,—

(a) The Trans-Indus North west—which almost separated itself from the political movements of the plain of Hindustan.

(b) The North *i.e.*, the plain of Hindustan.

(c) The Deccan, with a predominant suzerain power flanked by a number of smaller states.

(d) The Tamil Country or the extreme south with a predominant political power keeping under its control a number of feudatory states.

Summary of Political History—On the fall of the Maurya Empire, Bactrian Greeks found again a chance for making good a bid for supremacy which had once been snatched away from their hands by Candragupta and his successors. With a dual political programme, they revolted under Diodotus against the Seleucidan Emperor of Syria 248 B.C. Diodotus founded a kingdom where one of his successors ruled. A third Prince, Euthydemus, suffered an attack from Antiochus the great. But the victor made peace with him and gave his son his daughter in marriage. This son-in-law Demetrios, not only ruled Bactria but conquered a part of the Punjab and Sind.

Greeks—The region of the Indian border was gradually parcelled out amongst a number of Greek princelings. One of those was Menander who ruled over a large part of the Punjab and had his capital at Sagala (Śākala). Other such Graeco-Indian princes existed, but the Greeks never succeeded in founding an empire. Their peculiar Hellenic genius stood in the path of their political consolidation.

The exact date of the Greek irruption* is not known, but both Demetrios and Menander are supposed to have been contemporaries of Pushyamitra and according to Indian tradition the Greeks led two raids into India, in course of which they besieged Sāketa and Mādhyamikā. (अरुणद् यवनः साकेतम् अरुणद् यवनो मध्यमिकाम्—See V. Smith. *Early History of India* pp. 187, 204 & 226).

Parthians—The Greeks themselves did not enjoy power very long. They had more powerful enemies at their rear to deal with. First of all, there were the Parthians who had under Arsakes (almost contemporary with Diodotus) established a national power in the region of North Persia, to the south-east of the Caspian. Their independence was recognized in 248 B.C. and the Arsakidan dynasty produced eminent rulers like Mithridates I who became overlord of the region up to the Jhelum and many of the Greek princes were compelled to bow down before him.†

Sākās—About the middle of the second century B. C., the country was swept by the invasions of the Se or the Sākās who were pushed downwards by the pressure of the nomadic hordes of the Yueh-Chi. They swept away the kingdom of Heliokles north of the Hindu-kush and swamping the whole border region penetrated far into the plain of Hindustan and the peninsula of

* During the Indian wars of Demetrios, another Greek chief Eukratides established himself in Bactria. He was followed by Pantaleon, Agathokles and Antimachus and others. One of his sons Heliokles was the last Greek ruler north of the Hindu-kush. Altogether we have coins of 37 Greek princes and princesses.

† The Parthians :—Under Mithridates, the Sākās were checked in their western march and flowed into the Indus Valley. Consequent upon this, the Sākās of Sistan came under Parthian suzerainty. It is therefore merely a convenient nomenclature which takes the princes of the house of Maues as Sākās while those of Drangiana and Arachosia are termed Pahlava. Vonones, the Parthian, ruled in Eastern Iran with the Imperial title. Probably in his family the two ruling elements blended and he ruled on jointly with his brothers and nephews. For the subsequent history of the Pahlavas, we are to depend on the tradition of St. Thomas and the Takht-i-Bahai inscription. That inscription gives us the name of King Gondophernes identified with the king who patronised St. Thomas. Gondophernes seems to have acted as viceroy under Orthuges, along with his brother. His immediate predecessor was Azes II, since the Strategos Aspavarman (son of Indravarman) was associated with both these princes.

Kathiawad. The early history of these Śakas is difficult to find out, but they have been identified with the Sai-Wang who according to Prof. Sten Konow, were identical with the Śaka-Muruṇḍas familiar to Indian writers. They seem to have halted in the region of Kipin, (identified with the district to the north of the Kabul river; Sten Konow, *Ep. Ind. Ant.* XIV p. 291) destroyed the Greek kingdoms there and with further pressure marched south and east. Probably, there were two important streams of Śaka invaders, one through Beluchistan along the Indus valley downwards to Gujarat-Kathiawad and Malwa, the other through the Punjab and penetrating the northern plain. A large number of Śaka principalities was established in north India—presumably in Gāndhāra, Kāpiśa, Western Punjab and Mathura. The Northern Śaka Satraps* came under Parthian influence. Many of them adopted Parthian or Persian styles and some of them evidently acknowledged Parthian supremacy. The Śaka domination of the lower Indus valley lasted longer and even Ptolemy mentions them.

Southern Śakas—Of the southern branch of the Śakas, we have two prominent lines, *e.g.*, (a) The Khaharāta or Chaharātas of Kathiawad. A large part of Mahārāṣṭra was within their dominions and a large number of their inscriptions and coins has been discovered. The most prominent prince of this line was

* The Northern Śaka Satraps—The Śakas seem to have overrun a large part of the Punjab and the Yamunā Valley. We have references to a Śaka Prince Mages or Moga of the Taxila copper plate dated in the year 78 of an unknown era, and he is described as a Paramount Prince (Mahārāya). His empire was an extensive one and included Gāndhāra, Taxila and Puskalāvati. He seems to have flourished in the middle of the second cen. B.C., though nothing as yet has been settled definitely. He was followed by Princes like Azes I and Azilises.

In addition to such powerful Śaka princes, we have references to lines of Śaka Satraps ruling in the Punjab, in Kapisa and in a place as far east as Mathura. Very little is known of the Kāpisa Satraps but in the Punjab we have references to three families *e.g.* the families of Liaka and Patika, of Miangula and Jehonia, and that of Aspavarman. In Mathura, a long line of Śakas ruled, *e.g.* Hagana, Hāgūmāsha, Rañjuvala, Sodāsa etc. For our purpose, the chronology or order of these princes is not at all important.

Nahapāna, whose inscriptions are recorded in an unnamed era. This prince had a continuous struggle with the Andhras, who destroyed his power.

Sakas of Ujjain—(b) While the Andhra victory put an end to this Khaharāta line, another branch of the Śakas established a dynasty at Ujjain which lasted for nearly four centuries. The founder of this line was Yasnotika's son Caṣṭana. The grandson of Caṣṭana was the celebrated Rudra-dāman who defeated the Andhras and established almost imperial sway over a vast region including Sind, Gujarat-kathiawad, part of Rājputana, Cutch, Konkon and a part of the Vindhyan hill regions. A long line of Rudra-dāman's successors ruled in Ujjain till the close of the fourth cen. A. D. when they were destroyed by Candragupta II of the Gupta line.

Kusanas—The history of the decline of the Śaka power and the exact relations of the Śakas with the other conquering tribes of the border region is not exactly known. Towards the close of the second cen. B.C., another race-migration began and the Yueh-chi began to press the Śakas hard. As the result of a series of internecine wars, the Kusānas themselves defeated the other Yueh-chi sections and established an empire which included a great part of north and western India up to Mathura. The more important princes of the Kusānas were the two Kadphises, Kapiška, Vasīška, Huviška and Vāsudeva. The chronology and the order of the princes of the

* The date of the foundation of the Kusāna power is disputed, as well as the relation between the princes of the Kadphises group and successors of Kaniska. Any how, the two lines can be easily distinguished, since the Kaniska group distinguishes itself by the use of Deva and Devaputra titles and the use of years which seem to connect themselves into a particular era. Kennedy tried to prove (J.R.A.S. 1913; Secret of Kaniska) that there were two Kusāna lines, one extra-Indian and the other Indian ruled by Kaniska. Others like Thomas have placed the Kadphises group before Kaniska. The date of Kaniska is therefore uncertain. There are many theories about his accession, including one which makes him the founder of the 56 B.C. era and another make him the originator of the Śaka era. In any case, Kaniska cannot be placed earlier than 56 B.C. and not later than the first century A.D.

Kusāna line is far from being definitely settled. Most of the Kusāna kings were Indianised and became devoted adherents of some or other of the Hindu gods, especially Śiva. Kanīṣka according to the northern Buddhists was a patron of their religion and did much for the development of the Mahāyāna School. Gradually, the Kusāna power declined and by the beginning of the fourth century A. D., the Kusānas were reduced to the position of local sovereigns, of the Kabul region and held power as local chiefs for a long time.

Indigenous Powers :—In this dark age, the greater part of northern and western India, was thus overrun by foreign hordes. The only indigenous powers that remained maintained themselves in the south and the east. In regard to eastern India proper, very little is known and we have no detailed records about the regions of Magadha or Bengal. Only the kingdom of Kalinga meets our eyes and we have only a stray allusion to its powerful ruler the Ceta Mahā-Megha-vāhana Khāravēla, who calls himself a Bhikṣu-mahārāja or Dharma-mahārāja.* In his Hāthigumphā inscription, he gives an account of his line and of his own doings. From the meagre data and doubtful language of this inscriptional record we simply know, that he was the fourth of his line, a Jain by religion and

* Our information regarding Khāravēla is mainly derived from the Hāthigumphā inscription, discovered as early as 1825 and of which an eye-copy by Bhagwanall Indraji held the ground till 1910, when Indraji's readings were attacked by a number of scholars. The reading of Mr. Jayaswal made in 1917 and amended in 1928, is now accepted by most scholars. From the inscription we know for certain that Khāravēla belonged to the Ceta (Cedi) rulers of Kalinga and was the fourth of his line. Of his more remarkable exploits may be mentioned his expedition "disregarding the attitude of Sātakarni," his expedition to Rājagriha, which compelled the Yavana invader to beat a retreat (line 8), and his victory over Bahasatimitra of Magadha. In the end, he calls himself a descendant of a *rājarāja* family, a Khemarāja, and Bhikṣurāja, Dhammarāja and prides himself upon his patronage of all religious sects (See J. B. O. Ra. 1928 January).

From the internal evidences, Jayaswal has placed Khāravēla in the first half of the 2nd Cen. B.C. The Ceta dynasty was probably founded in 225 B.C. Khāravēla was born in 207 B.C. and became King in 183 B.C. By 132 B.C. he was dead. He reformed the Jain worship in Kalinga and performed the Rājāsūya sacrifice.

having defied "a Sātakarṇi Lord of the Deccan" led an expedition to Pātaliputra. Nothing more definite is known as regards his date or his successors.

The Andhras—In regard to the Andhras, we are in almost the same region of mist and darkness. The Purāṇas give us only the names of Andhra princes and we know but little as to the beginning of the dynasty. A number of scholars has relied solely on the Paurāṇic testimony and has made the Andhras, successors to the Śuṅga-Kāṇvas, assigning Simuka, their founder, to the third or first quarter of the first century B. C. This however is absolutely untenable, especially on the evidence of epigraphy. Moreover, the Andhras were already a powerful dynasty in the days of Megasthenes, who mentions a tradition about their powerful military force. The dynasty was established according to all evidences by Simuka and gained ascendancy over a large part of western and southern India, but the Andhras seem never to have established Imperial dominion in the plains of Hindustan.* The dynasty produced a number of energetic rulers the total of such being twenty-nine or thirty with a total regnal period of about 460 years. About the three earliest princes we have epigraphic details, but after them there is a gap in such records. This was probably due to the ascendancy of the Khaharātas and Śakas who were however checked by king Gautami-putra Sātakarṇi, who destroyed the ascendancy of Nahapāna, restruck large numbers of foreign coins and restored the bounds of the Andhra Empire by conquering the Śakas, Yavanas

* The beginning of the Andhras must be placed in the last quarter of the 3rd cen. B.C. Bühler on epigraphical grounds had placed them in the second century while according to Rapson the line began soon after 232 B.C. Other scholars like the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar placed them after the fall of the Śuṅga-Kāṇvas. For a discussion of this, see Rapson's Introduction to Andhra Coins and Inscriptions, Bhandarkar's, Early History of the Deccan, and Jouveau-Dubreuil's Ancient History of the Deccan.

Palhavas, Khaharātas and some Kṣātrīyas.* He had the usual title of Sātavāhana, but he seems to have belonged to a new royal family. The mention of Brāhmaṇic metronymies is also significant. Gautamiputra's† vast empire comprised Gujarat, Malwa, Central India, Berar, Konkan and a large part of the present Bombay presidency. Owing to these exploits, he must be regarded as the second founder of the Andhra Empire. He was succeeded by a number of energetic princes but soon afterwards the Andhras were hard pressed by the Śakas who under Caṣṭana's grandson Rudradaman, had established a powerful kingdom, and reduced the Andhra king to impotence ('though the latter was not exterminated owing to very near relationship.') After the lapse of some considerable time, the Andhra Empire sank into decay and the different feudatories established independent rule in different localities. This is proved by Paurāṇic and other evidences. According to the former, there were seven Andhra-bhṛtyas who ruled probably at Sri parvata, the dynasty of Ābhiras comprising ten kings, the seven Gardabhilas, the Yavanas, the Tusāras and the Muruṇḍas. From archaeological evidences we find dynasties like those of the Cuṭus related to the Nāgas, the Mahārathis, and of princes bearing the title of Śātakarni, ruling near Banavāsi, who seem afterwards to have been succeeded by the Kadambas of Vijayantipura. The region about Nasik passed to the Ābhiras as proved by an inscription of the Ābhira Išvarasena. In some other districts, they were supplanted by the Pallavas.

* See the Nasik inscription of Queen-dowager Gautami Bālaśri, the mother of Gautamiputra Sātakarni Sātavāhana.

† The suggestion was made very early that Gautamiputra was the traditional Vikramāditya but was not accepted by all scholars. More recently, this question has been examined in detail by Mr. Haritkrishna Deb, M.A. and he has succeeded in raising important points regarding the identity of Gautamiputra and Vikramāditya. The name Vikramāditya occurs even in Hāla's great poetical work.

All these happened in or about the third century A. D. which still remains a dark and unexplored region before the historian. Perhaps in that age, India remained under the domination of tribes of savages and foreigners. In regions of North India, probably, the Sassanians claimed overlordship. The period is entirely obscure and its history is yet to be written.

Fourth Century Revival : the Guptas—Towards the close of this period there was a revival of indigenous powers. In north India, the Guptas rose to power, but not before a struggle for supremacy had been waged by lines which produced the Nāgas of Padmāvati or the conqueror Candia of the Meherauli pillar.

The Vākātakas—In central India arose a new power. It was the Vākātakas of whom we have but little in the Purāṇas except traditions about Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasena. Yet they were a great power who ruled over a vast area of central India and the Deccan. The extent of their power, their cultural peculiarities and their services to the cause of Hindu culture have been rightly emphasised by M. Jouveau-Dubreuil.

The Pallavas—In the extreme south, the Cera, Cola and the Pāṇdyas held local sway* but in the fourth century A. D., a new power rose in that locality. It was the Pallavas, whose founder

* As regards the extreme south, our knowledge is still meagre, especially for the earliest period. It is reasonable to believe that the extreme south was known to the people of the north even in the IVth and Vth centuries B.C., and Greek travellers have preserved accounts of the Pāṇdyas. Aryan immigration introduced Aryan culture, and Brahmin sages like Agastya came to be regarded as the fathers of south Indian culture. The social and political life of the south however retained the stamp of an indigenous evolution and the country was parcelled out among a large number of small principalities or tribal states ruled by local princes or Assemblies.

At the dawn of the Christian era, there were 13 *naḍas* and three crowned kings e.g. Cera, Cola and Pāṇḍya who held supreme sway over seven smaller chiefs. There was a struggle for supremacy among these for overlordship over Tamilakam. The first to attain a supreme position was Kāṅkaka the Black-foot, the Cola ruler of Kaveripattam (1st cen. A.D.) and he invaded Ceylon. In the second cen. A.D. Senguttayan, the Red Cera, rose to power, but his son was defeated and imprisoned by Nedun-jelvan the Pāṇḍya. The Pāṇdyas retained their supremacy till the fourth cen. A.D. when the Pallavas rose to power.

was, as M. Jouveau Dubreuil rightly points out, not a foreigner but a feudatory of the Ahdhras who consolidated ruling authority by marrying a Nāga princess. (See Dubreuil's *History of the Deccan*—pp. 46-51 ; and Gopalan's *History of the Pallavas* (pp. 1-32).

The Republics—Some other local powers maintained themselves during this age of anarchy and political turmoil. They were the non-monarchial tribes which held their own both against Indian enemies and foreign invaders. Prominent among these were the Yaudheyas, who, though compelled to shift from their old locality, fought with Rudradāman. Next came the Mālavas who moved to Eastern Rajputana where they had to fight the Uttamabhadras in league with the Khaharāta Nahapāna as we are told in the records of the latter's son-in-law, Usavadāta. The Arjunāyanas, the Śibis, the Trigartas, as well as the Rājanyas, the Vṛṣṇis, the Andumbaras and the Mahārājas existed and maintained their ground. They strove to uphold the dignity of their race as well as the non-monarchical tradition. Some of their coins and records have come down to us. As to their mode of government and their political ideals, we shall go into some details in the next section. For fuller details, we refer our readers to Sir Alexander Cunningham's *Ancient Indian Coins* and his *Archaeological Survey Reports* (Vol XIV).

The Polity of the Age of Conflict and Resurrection

The polity of this dark age was one of reactions and compromises. During the earlier part of the period the reaction against the Imperial institutions was very great. The foreigner conquered the outlying provinces and there instituted new systems of government retaining very little of the past. The higher machinery of government crumbled to dust. The principles of government and the autonomous local institutions however survived. The tenacity of these local institutions was due to many causes. They had received acceptance from the people through centuries, before the advent of imperialism. Furthermore they ensured the independence and good government of the localities.

Above these were imposed the innovations of the conquering hordes. But these affected the people very little. Generally speaking, the higher machinery of government established by the conquering races was one suited to those who could not devise a lasting system but wished to hold the country in military subjection only. It was thus fortunate for India that her new conquerors lacked the genius to create but had to borrow either from the powerful nations of the neighbourhood or from the conquered themselves. The early Sakas and Parthians borrowed from the Parthian or Persian rulers, whose culture had impressed them most. The Greeks alone had the presumption to impose a system of their own, but even then

in reality nothing new was introduced, except certain official titles and names which survived as long as the Greeks ruled.

Changes introduced by Greeks—It appears from the meagre records that the Greek princes like the Śakas and the Parthians remained content with appointing local governors, who held important centres under military occupation. These Greek officials were naturally designated by words of Greek origin. The princes themselves assumed titles like *Megaloy*, or *Basileus Basileon*. The officials appointed by them were known as *Strategos** or *Meridarch*.† Some scholars have also detected the title of *Horamurta‡*. We have coins or inscription which bear these titles, but they cease with the fall of the Greeks.

Śaka-Pahlavas—The Śakas or Saka-Pahlavas seem to have borrowed from Parthian or Persian models. Probably, there was a supreme Śaka ruler presiding over the fortunes of the so-called *Sakastan*. Under him were Satraps ruling different territorial units, divided into two classes, distinguished from each other by the addition of the prefix *Mahā* to the lower title. The Śaka Maues was designated a *Mahārāya* while Parthian princes assumed titles like '*Khayathianām khayathiya*'. Some of the Mathura Satraps like *Soḍāsa* assumed titles like *Mahākṣatrapa* and *Svāmī* (Lüders 59). The Satrapal designation was probably borrowed from Persia and was adopted by all Śakas whether in the north or in the south. In most families, a *Mahākṣatrapa* was associated with his son or heir who bore the lower title. Below the higher Satraps, were

* We have a large number of coins of Azes II on which the name of his subordinate *Aspavarma*, the *strategos*, occurs.

† The title *Meridarchos* occurs in a Kharoṣṭhi inscription from Taxila (Thomas, J. R. A. S. 1916).

‡ According to Lüders (J. R. A. S. 1909.) the Manikiala inscription mentions the *horamurta* Lala of the Satrap Vasi.

military leaders designated Satraps or Strategos who collected tributes and reduced refractory tributaries to subjection.

Southern Sakas—Like the Satraps of the north, the Śakas of the south followed the model of Persia during the early part of the period. But the greatest borrowers were the Kusāna Emperors, whose geographical position enabled and compelled them to borrow indiscriminately from all nations, *e.g.* from the Mongols and the Chinese, from the Romans and Greeks as well as from the Hindus.

The Kusānas—This spirit of indiscriminate borrowing characterised the Kusānas not only in politics but in religion. In the Kusāna coins, we find not only Greek legends, but the figures of deities belonging to the Hindu, Buddhist, Zoroastrian, Elamite and even Babylonian pantheon. In addition to the Sun-god, we have figures of Śiva, of the Windgod, of Nanaia, of the goddess Mao and of Helios. Heracles, Mithra and Lakṣmī appear on the coins of Kaniṣka's successors. The titles assumed by Kaniṣka are significant. We find the following styles and titles on his coins and inscriptions, *e.g.*

- (a) The Son of Heaven or *Devaputra*—probably borrowed from the Chinese.
- (b) King of Kings—*Sahana-Shao*—from the Perso-Parthians.
- (c) Sovereign lord of kings—or *Mahārājātirāja* borrowed from India.
- (d) King of Kings—*Basileus Basileon* from the Greeks.
- (e) *Kaisar* or *Kazar* (Īśvara ?)—borrowed from the Mongols.
- (f) In the coins of Kadphises, other titles appear *viz.* *Rājātirāja Sarva-loka-īśvara, Mahisvara-himaka* and *Makasisa, Tradata*.

In course of time, the Kusānas like the other foreigners became not only Indianised but became patrons of Śaivism or

Buddhism as their coins show. They continued to call themselves *Deva* or *Devaputra** and this influenced Indian ideas too deeply. The identification of the king with the vicegerent of the gods and the assumption of the *Deva* title became the universal practice of later Hindu kings. In this respect, a great influence was exerted by the foreigners upon Hindu polity :

While this was the course of events in northern and western India, the indigenous powers which either grew out of the downfall of the Empire or enlarged themselves at the cost of the fallen dynasty, practically maintained the old governmental system, though there was a visible reaction against the centralising and exploiting tendencies of the imperial rule. Of these indigenous powers, the more important were the Andhras and the Cētas, in addition to the three states of the extreme south.

The Andhras—The Andhra records give us very little details about their administrative system or the form of government, but from what we have, we may draw the following conclusions.

(a) The Andhra empire comprised territories directly ruled by the Andhra kings, some of these being provinces wrested from the Mauryas.

(b) There were other provinces and areas which were in the hands of hereditary feudatories, calling themselves Mahābhōjis or Mahārāṭṭhis (Karli No. 14). These families were very powerful and there were often marital alliances between these families and the Andhra rulers. The Andhra queen, Nayanikā, was the daughter of such a Mahārāṭhi (*Sadakana-kala-lāya-Mahārāṭhī*), and we have instances of coins being struck by these feudatories. The

* This title is almost a common characteristic of the successors of Kaniska. Kaniska is called *Devaputra* in a number of records (see Lüders No. 18, 21, 23). The same epithet is applied to Huska and Haviska (Lüders No. 35, 38, 41-45, 50, 52, 56, 62, 918). Viśadeva is similarly styled (see Lüders 60). Elsewhere, he is spoken of as *Mahārāja* and *Rājastirāja*.

Mahābhōjis who probably inherited the styles of the *Bhaujyas* or the *Bhojas* of the Epic, enjoyed similar powers and prerogatives. Other tributaries were the Cutus, Nāgas and Muṇḍānandas. In course of time, most of these feudatories asserted their independence. (Rapson C. I. of Andhras, Introduction pp XLII to XLV).

(c) In those portions of the Maurya Empire which were annexed to the Andhra monarchy, the old system lasted more or less with modifications. The provincial government was in the hands of *Amātyas* or *Rājāmātyas*, and we hear of *Amātyas* like Viṣṇupālita or Śivagupta. There were also military officers like *Senāpatīs* or *Mahāsenāpatīs* stationed at different centres (Cf. Nasik 24, *Senāpati Vasu*). We have references to *Mahāmātras* in charge of the *Śramāṇas* (No. 22 Nāsik, of cava no. 19). One inscription speaks of *Bhāṇḍāgārikas*. Subject to these officials, the local areas enjoyed full autonomy and guilds were active, as we know from Uśavadāta's records speaking of *Nigama-sabhās*.

In addition to the ordinary taxes, the Andhras seemed to have preserved some of those fiscal rights which were enjoyed by their Maurya predecessors. We hear of royal villages (*Rājakam Khetam*) and in connection with grants to religious orders, we know that they too preserved their salt monopoly and exacted ferry-dues. This is evident from the fact that whenever villages were granted, the Andhras conferred with that grant the right of making salt and other privileges (अपावेय अनोमस अनोनखादक सवजात पवित्रारिक etc. See Ins. of Sātakarṇi Gautamiputra. No. 5.)

Detailed information on these heads is indeed scanty, but from some of the inscriptions, we have interesting informations about the styles, titles or the pretensions of the Andhras. The kings of the Andhra line were satisfied with the simple titles of *Rāja**

* Apart from *rājā* and *mahārāja*, the assumption of the titles, *Satāvāhana* and *Sātakarṇi*

and *Mahārāja* and their wives and mothers were designated *Mahādevī*. Many of the rulers assumed the name of *Sātakarni** and some designated themselves *Sātavāhana*, later on corrupted into *Sālivāhana*. The successor of Gautamīputra, the restorer of the glories of the line, makes that king pride upon his hereditary dignity (*kula-purisa-paraparāgata*), enumerates the different provinces under the royal rule, the races of enemies conquered by him and allows Gautamīputra to be compared with the great heroes of Indian history. While most of the epithets are of no importance to the historian, some details are really suggestive. Thus, in the great inscription of Gautamīputra's mother, the king is not only extolled for his mercy to enemies, his efforts for the preservation of the order of the *Varnas* (*vinivṛtita-cāturvanna-kāraṣa*) and his patronage of the Brahmins as well as the lower castes (*Dijāvāra-kuṭuva-vicadhaṇasa*) but claims to be remembered and honoured on account of his having lived a dedicated life which shared fully the joys and sorrows of his subjects (*Pora-jana-nivisesa-sama-sukha-dukhasa*) and devoted to the attainment of the three objects of existence (*Subibhata-tivaga-desa-kālaṣa*). Another source of the king's pride was that he never imposed any taxes not sanctioned by custom or justice (*Dhamo-pajita-kara-viniyoga-karasa*), nor did his arms fail to smite the enemy and protect his own people.* A King with all enemies

is significant. But no satisfactory meaning has been assigned to these words (lord of seven *asṭā*—hills—*karni*?). One prince calls him *Nava-naravāmi* (Lord of *nava-nagara*—or lord of nine classes of men?).

* Many of these expressions are significant. The reference to the devotion to the happiness of the people is but an echo of the ancient Hindu regal ideal and reminds us of Kautilya's line—*जनसुखं सुखं राज्ञः जनसुखं हि हि विदुः*. The allusion to the *Trieargas* and the consideration of *deśa* and *kāla* seem to echo Kautilyan ideas. The mention of the exaction of taxes only sanctioned by *Dharma* shows the mentality of a reaction against the fiscal tyranny of the Empire.

subdued, with all subjects treated with kindness, he was great like Rāma, Keśava, Arjuna and other heroes, the first and unrivalled fighter of his age and the "Sole Brahmin" (*Ekadhamu, Ekasura* and *Ekabamhana*).*

From these we may safely presume that the political ideals of these indigenous rulers of south India were not much different from those of the Arthaśāstra, though in one or two respects they came to bear the stamp of the pacifism introduced by the great Emperor Aśoka. The references to the threefold aims and the identification of the king with his subjects' interest clearly point to the continuance of the traditional Arthaśāstra ideals. But the mention of non-violence to enemies (*Satujane apanahisā-ruchisā*) or the allusion to taxation with Dharma, are but the indications which shew the reaction against the policy of bloody conquests or of unbridled fiscal tyranny which is so prominent in the code of Kauṭilya.

The Dharma Reaction – The influence of this Dharma ideal was more far-reaching than it has been hitherto supposed. Perhaps, it was greater in the country, the conquest of which evoked in Aśoka those sentiments which swelled the flood-tide of his repentance and made his memory so dear to humanity. It is remarkable to note its influence on Mahā-meghavāhana

* The word *Ekabamhana* has not been clearly explained. It means 'the sole Brāhmaṇa' and may be taken to point to the fact that the later Sūtavāhanas were Brahmins by caste. This view receives support from the occurrence of Brahmanical gotra metronymics like Vāsiṣṭhī-putra or Gautamīputra. Acting upon this interpretation, we must incline to the fact that probably after the weakening of the Andhra power on account of the Śaka invasion, a Brahmin dynasty supplanted the earlier Andhra kings who were Śūdras by caste. We had a recurrence of this many centuries later, in the same region, where the Peiswas supplanted the successors of Sivāji.

This together with the Brāhmaṇical origin of the Suṅgas point to a Brahmanical reaction in that age of foreign invasion. Later on, we find the Pallavas claiming descent from Asvatthāman, and the Kadambas calling themselves Brahmins. The same thing is repeated five centuries later when the Sāhis of Kabul, the last kings of Sind and some of the Pratihāras claimed to have been of Brāhmaṇ descent.

Khāravēla, the Cēṭa prince of Kalinga* who restored the greatness of his line. Great as he was and glorious as his political achievements were, he, too, felt the influence of that man who had reduced his country into a province of his empire. In imitation of the piety of the adversary of his line, he took the title of Kṣemarāja, Bhikṣurāja and Dharmarāja, titles assumed by many of the later Indian princes, and the practice continued for a long time.†

In course of time, all these pacific and humane ideals passed to all the races of barbarian invaders of India. The half-Greeks of Bactria were the first to feel the spiritual influence of the conquered. They readily gave up their soulless paganism and adopted either the teachings of Buddha or embraced like Heliodoros the rising Bhāgavata religion. Many of their princes assumed the style of the Righteous (Dhārmika)‡ and soon the Hellenes lost their individuality, political and cultural.

The savager elements resisted longer, but they too succumbed fast and adopted not only the religion but also the social and political institutions of the conquered. So far as political and social

* The inscription of Khāravēla derives importance from other causes. It gives us the early history of Jainism and shows how that religion had spread over Kalinga. It shows also how, with their faith riveted to the extreme of ahimsā, Jain princes could fight and undertake military expeditions.

Other inscription of this line of Kalinga kings have come down to us. But as regards the date, differences of opinion still exist.

† Khāravēla enumerates his proficiency in many sciences (lekha-rupa-gaṇanā-bhidhi-viśāradena) and towards the end of his inscription prides upon his universal toleration (Savapāṇḍa-pūjaka) and assumes these above titles (e.g. Khemarāja, Bodharāja, Bhikkhorāja and Dharmarāja.)

‡ The coins of Greek princes bear impressions of gods and goddesses like Pallas, Zeus, Nike, or Heracles, or contain the discourse or the tripod, in addition to the bull. Most of the coins bear a Khurothli legend and the king is styled Mahārāja in addition to the Greek titles. In some cases, the titles 'Tradamea' and 'Aparthata' are added. Some coins of Heliocles and some joint coins of Strato and Agathocleia contain the word 'dharmika' in addition to other titles. The word 'Mahatasa' is found on the coins of Maues while the Indo-parthian Azes I also uses the appellation of 'Dhārmika.'

ideals are concerned, they are best exemplified by the history of the Khaharātas and the Kṣatrapas.

Hinduisation—The Karle inscription (No. 10, Lüders, nos. 1099, 1131, 1133) of Nahapāna's son-in-law, Ushavadāta, reflects all the sentiments of a pious Hindu and an ideal Indian king. A son-in-law of a Khaharāta king, styled Kṣatrapa and Rājā and occasionally designated *Señāni*, this Śaka prince celebrates his victory over the Mālavas by charitable acts and pious deeds of which a genuine Hindu could be proud. He visits Hindu sacred places, makes immense gift to Brahmmins, endows caves for Buddhist monks, but not satisfied with these, he digs wells and tanks, establishes tree rest-houses, raises embankments and even supports free ferries. The kingdom of Nahapāna did not last long. His line was put an end to by Gautamīputra Śātakarni, but very soon the Andhra domination was supplanted thereby that of another line of Śakas founded by Caṣṭana and holding court at Ujjain.

This line held sway for more than three centuries and produced powerful rulers. Rudradāman, the greatest king of the line, speaks like a true Hindu and tries to govern according to the old Hindu ideal. The Junāgaḍh inscription of the Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi Rudradāman (Lüders No. 965) is an important document which speaks for itself. Like a pious Hindu, Rudradāmana speaks in this inscription written in Sanskrit, of his election by men of all castes, and Śaiva though he was, he prides upon his not killing any body except in war. His government of the provinces, wrested from the Andhras, seems to have been modelled on that of the Mauryas, to whom these originally belonged. He seems to have been well versed in the art of government, especially in the Arthaśāstra. He maintained two sets of officers under him who are styled (a) *Mati-sacivas*, and (b) *Karma-sacivas*.

Clearly, the function of the first body was to give advice to the king on affairs of state. Whether the Matisacivas still constituted the *Parīṣat*, we do not know, but this much is clear that a body of advisers remained under the king. The karmasacivas were executive officers, who had charge of departments which are unfortunately not enumerated. But this much we can presume that there were officials with various duties. Some were employed to collect royal dues in various shapes, e.g. *Bali*, or *Bhāga* from royal lands as in Maurya times. Others collected the *Sulka* or Toll, while the *Bhāṇḍāgārikas*, were in charge of treasure-houses containing not only gold, silver, precious gems and stones but also the produce of fields, or taxes paid in kind (a practice which continued even up to Gupta times). Other officials were in charge of irrigation and water-supply and this is clearly confirmed by the inscription of Usavadāta and of Rudradāman, whose Junāgadh inscription (Lüders 965) gives us a detailed description of the Sudarśana lake (see also Lüders, nos 1137-1186). The Karmāntas or workshops were also in existence as we know from another inscription and this is confirmed by the evidence of the Kāmasūtra which speaks of Adhyakṣas in charge of factories.

There existed also judges, criminal magistrates, police officers as well as chiefs of military pickets. The higher military officers included the Senapatis and Maha-senāpatis and these commanded the troops and garrisons in different localities. The different provinces and local divisions were probably under Amātyas as under the Andhras. Villages and local areas, guilds, and townships probably continued to enjoy autonomy, though the officers in charge, whether appointed by the king or elected, were accountable to the king.

While in this way, the traditional system remained undisturbed,

Rudradāman shared the feeling against the oppressive measures of the Empire. Like the Andhra rulers (who claimed to have exacted no taxes except those sanctioned by *Dharma*), he was opposed to fiscal tyranny and he speaks clearly against excessive taxes (*kara*), forced labour (*vis̥i*) and benevolences (*Prāṇayas*).

Political tendencies and influences—In the light of available evidences, we may summarise the political tendencies and influences of this period.

First of all, the foreign invasions, though they caused the downfall of the imperial structure, did not materially injure the cultural and social life of the Indian people or destroy the subordinate administrative machinery, or the autonomy of village life. The foreign invaders ultimately reinforced the ethnic element already existing and paved the way to a neo-Hindu social and religious revival.

Secondly, the foreign domination of the north led to the political consciousness of the south, which for a long time became a stronghold of Indian culture.

Thirdly, the monarchical principle became stronger than ever and though some of the republics maintained their political existence in the fringe areas or in secluded regions, the vigour of the republican discipline gradually passed away. A few centuries more, and these republics passed out of existence. The principle of monarchy was not only strengthened, but everywhere the powers and prerogatives of the king were extolled. The king in that age of foreign domination and anarchy came to be looked upon as the saviour of the people and the upholder of the social and moral existence. The transcendental *Dharma* idea became the dominant principle in social and political life and materialism passed to the back-ground. The influence of the central Asian races, made the

king to be looked upon as the incarnation of the divine spirit and this *deva* idea was accepted everywhere. Following the Kusāna example, later Hindu kings came to be styled *Devas* and the old sacerdotal principle received a strong re-inforcement. Along with this, an intimate connection was established between the king and the religion he professed. This is apparent from the styles assumed by the various dynasties which ruled India from this time. Each line claimed to derive success from the grace of the deity it worshipped. In this, too, the foreigners led the way. The Greek kings put the figures of their own divinities on coins and Pallas, Nike, Demeter, Hermes or Zeus made their appearance. The Kusānas followed their example. Kadphises II put the Siva image on his coins in addition to the bull. Under Kanīška, these gods and goddess were multiplied and Indian, Roman, Greek or Babylonian deities made their appearance on coins. (See Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, p. 10-26). Sectarianism also invaded politics and soon afterwards the king's name everywhere was associated with the cult to which he belonged. From the fourth century downwards, kings distinguished themselves by assuming distinctly religious titles like *Parama-Bhāgavata*, *Parama-Māheshvara* or *Parama-Saugata*.

Lastly, a distinct feudal tendency was infused into the spirit of Hindu politics. Repeated invasions and the continual changes of hand of local areas led to the growth of numerous lines of subordinate princes, who always saved their own heads by transferring their allegiance to the dominant power of the day. The Scytho-Persian ideal of government by means of a series of Satraps led also to the creation of such an indigenous aristocracy and most probably the old centralised character of administration as under the Mauryas passed away. The rise of innumerable Mitra families

points to the same. The Satrapal families also strengthened the same principle and the rise of feudatory families under the Guptas is a fact which every historian is bound to take into account. These ruled their own dominions on conditions of military aid and tribute. The representatives of the central power were installed in all centres of importance and probably the later official grade of Kāyasthas grew out of the imitation of the Persian and Parthian *Khayathiya*.*

The Republican Ideal

In the midst of these innovations and turmoils, the republics maintained more or less their own time-honoured institutions and the tradition of independence. In the absence of detailed records, their coins alone show their corporate political existence and the dominance of the idea of a '*res publica*.'

Prominent among these republicans were the Yaudheyas, who had survived the imperial domination of the Mauryas. In that age of foreign invasion, they had to fight hard against the Śaka ruler Rudradāman, who speaks of their valour and military pride. (Ep. Ind. VIII.). Three types of Yaudheya coins have been discovered, especially in the eastern Punjab, with the elephant and bull symbol, with the figure of Kārtikeya and with

* It is a significant fact that just after the foreign invasion and settlement in India, the official grade of Kāyasthas becomes very prominent. That the Kāyasthas were in origin an occupational caste has been admitted by all, but no satisfactory derivation of the name has been suggested.

It has been suggested by Mr. A. K. Dev that the word Kāyastha is nothing but the sanskritised form of the Persian or Parthian '*khayathiya*' meaning a prince. Probably the institution of these officers should be attributed to the Śaka-parthians who borrowed largely from the Persians. After the fall of the Śaka-parthians, the institutions survived and the fiscal officers of the various kings retained that old name, though sanskritised. I think that this suggestion of Mr. Dev is very pertinent and worthy of the attention of scholars. The exactions of the early Kāyasthas made them unpopular and gradually they came to form a caste. Kāyasthas are mentioned in the Smṛti of Yājñavalkya in connection with the constitution of law courts and in the very old drama of *Mrcchakatika* we find a Kāyastha in the law court of the day.

the figure of a warrior. In the absence of recorded history, the inscriptions on some of these coins throw light on their staunch republicanism. On some coins we have the words 'Yaudheya-gaṇasya Jaya' while in other places we find the expression 'Yaudheyānam Jaya Mantra dharānām.' Clearly, these speak of their corporate Gaṇa and their elected elders and are an eye-opener to those who deny the existence of the republican principle in ancient India. Cunningham has identified the Johiya Rajputs with the descendants of the ancient Yaudheyas (see Cunningham's *Ancient Coins of India*, pp. 75-79; also *Arch. Sur. Rep. Ind. Vol. XIV on Autonomous coins*).

The coins of the Mālavas, who, too, survived and fought Nahapāna's son-in-law are equally suggestive and show how there was one commonly accepted style among the republicans. The Mālavas like the Yaudheyas also issued coins in the name of their corporation. Their coins bear a bull, lion or tree, with the legend 'Mālava-gaṇasya or Mālavānām Jaya, meaning victory to their corporation.

The Sibi's whose coins are found near modern Chitor issued their coins in the name of their *Janapada of Sibi in Madhyamikā* (*Majhamikāyā Sibijanapadasa*; See Cunningham on *Autonomous Coins of India*; A. S. R. Vol. XIV).

Similar to these, we have the coins of the Arjunāyanas and these belonging to the Suṅga period, bear the legend 'Arjunāyana' and *Arjunāyana Jaya*. Thus, these reflect the same spirit as the other states mentioned above.

We have coins of other autonomous non-monarchical states, namely, those of the Auḍumbaras, Aparāntas, Kunindas, Vṛṣṇis, and of the Mahārāja-janapada and the Rājanya Janapada. The Mahārāja and Rājanya coins were issued in the name of their

respective Janapadas. The real significance of the word Janapada is yet to be discovered. Probably, among the Mahārāja and Rājanyas there was the growth of an oligarchy of chiefs or fighters. This is clearly discernible in the case of the Vṛṣṇis and the Auḍumvaras some of whose later coins bear the legend of a ruler who is mentioned by name *e.g.* *Mahādevaśa rāṇo Dharaghośa*.* This seems to point to the gradual or occasional supplanting of gaṇa rule by semi-monarchical authority. We find an instance of this clearly in the case of the Yaudheyas, one whose chiefs is mentioned Swāmi Brāhmanya Yaudheya and another is later on styled Mahārāja and Mahāsenāpati. The single Vṛṣṇi coin is issued in the name of 'Vṛṣṇi-rājanya-janāśya bhubharasya *e.g.* the corporation of Vṛṣṇi Kṣattriyas. (See J. R. A.S. 1900, pp. 416-420).

The coins of the Kunindas have been referred to a period immediately before the Christian era. The same is also the case with the Aparānta coins (near Shabazghari). For further details, see Cunningham A.S. Reports. Vol. XIV—on Autonomous coins, (pp. 129 *1 et seq.*).

Indian Republicans—It will be out of place to dwell at large on the history of these states or peoples, since it is not within the scope of a volume like this. But this may be pointed out that these coins and their legends are sufficient to dispel the idea entertained by many European scholars and tacitly accepted by some Indian writers that republics were unknown in ancient India. Why and how such ideas originate is difficult to understand, except on the axiomatic acceptance

* Some of the Auḍumvara coins throw doubt on their republican character. In some of their coins, bearing the Trident, battle axe, tree, plough or a temple, we find three names of chiefs—*e.g.*, Dharaghośa, Śivadāśa and Rudradāśa, bearing the titles, Mahādeva, Mahārāja or Rājārāja.

of the inferiority of the Indian political genius and the assumption that republics and republicanism were an exclusive patent of the West. Yet the facts are that Indian tradition as well as recorded documents clearly distinguish these from the monarchical states. They issued coins in the name, not of rulers, nor of castes, but of political communities, who believed in their own separate and corporate political existence and manifested their faith in a *res publica*.

Again such states maintained their existence for as long a period (and occasionally for longer periods) as the republican states of Greece and Italy. The republican *régime* in Athens lasted for not more than eight hundred years and that in Rome for not more than six hundred years roughly. In India the facts are that the Yaudheyas existed from Pāṇini's time to the date of the Vijayagarh Inscription which is more than nine hundred years. In the case of the Mālavas we have real historical evidence of their existence from the time of Alexander to the rise of the Guptas which is more than six hundred years, even if we neglect their unrecorded early history.

Next, it has been advanced in some quarters that the Indian republics were nothing more nor less than tribal oligarchies, which reserved political power for the ruling few. Here again facts prove something to the contrary. The Mālavas, as stated already, certainly admitted Brahmins and men of other castes to live in their territory and to exercise the franchise. Certainly, this was not to be expected in an oligarchy. (See *supra* I, pp. 245 and 246). And does it not compare fairly with the state of affairs in Greece? Take Athens for example. In the hey-day of her prosperity, political power at Athens was in the hands of a ruling section only. Slaves formed more than half of the population and they had no

political rights. The *Metiks* were also excluded and even among *bona fide* Athenians, the tie of the *phratries* and of religion was so powerful that it was difficult for a new-comer to get admission into the political life of the city. Certainly, here too the Indians stood on a higher political level.

Democracies in the modern sense existed neither in Greece nor in India. Man's political rights were, in the ancient world, everywhere subordinated to certain notions of status and certain privileges of birth. These were the same in India as in the West. But the misfortune of India lay in the fact that her people exhibited a premature and precocious political genius longing for a higher type of evolution and this tended even in that remote age towards a cosmopolitan goal, though in society there existed divergences of race and culture standing in the path of a uniform social life. Though differing in blood or race, Indians could bring themselves under a common political sway and solved their social problems in a peculiar way. This was unknown in Greece, where the people though loving equality and extolling freedom looked only for a social uniformity in a narrow political frame. The republican city-state with its few thousand citizens remained the chief ideal of Greece. The Hellenes could not modify it or think of an extensive empire. It remained foreign to their genius. That task was undertaken later on by Alexander, himself a semi-barbarian empire-builder. But that dream was but half realised when the Greek lost his political individuality. He was swallowed up and lost in the midst of the races whom he pretended to conquer.

Practically, a similar state of affairs reigned in Italy. All the city-states were republics. Rome was one of them. By her conquests she imposed her yoke on the other cities of Latium and of Italy. Soon she became the mistress of a vast empire. But that meant the end of democracy and gradually of republicanism. The republic came

under *triumvirs* and military leaders and very soon they became despots, who were deified by the people.

In India, the line of development was not dissimilar. At first the republics were numerous. Gradually they became fewer and monarchy regulated by laws and public opinion gained ground. Later on monarchy became the political ideal of Indian thinkers. This was necessitated by the conflicts of races and principles. Universalism became the order of the day. Imperialism triumphed and the republics passed out of existence, after lasting for many centuries.

III

Political Speculations of the Reaction

↓ The consequences of the political disruption and foreign invasion deeply influenced the speculations of the age. A strong reaction set in with a view to modifying the social outlook and the political ideal. Men lost their faith in the ideals of the preceding age and yearned for a social and political order more likely to conserve than to lead to progress. The champions of orthodoxy attributed the disasters to the heterodox religious propaganda and the upheaval of the masses. Social disruption and political downfall were regarded as the consequences of false religious teachings and deviations in moral conduct. Consequently, the lawgivers of the reactionary age ushered in an era of social repression and political subjugation. The aims and objectives of the Arthaśāstra teachers were denounced and the task of social reconstruction was entrusted to the exponents of the orthodox Dharma ideal. They repudiated the secular ideals of the Arthaśāstra writers and condemned the goal of material prosperity. In place of these, they thought of raising a state, more moral than material and more spiritual than political. The Dharma ideal, which had been raised so high by Aśoka, was resuscitated and the importance of Artha was minimised. The Smṛti-writers, however, while they proposed to follow the canon of the Dharmaśūtras and Dharmaśāstras, could not remain blind to facts. Consciously and unconsciously

they utilised much of the Arthaśāstra material. Consequently, most of the regulations and principles accepted during the Imperialistic rule of the Mauryas remained intact, but the social and political outlook was entirely changed.

The earliest of these Dharmaśāstra-writers was the author of the Bhārgava recension of the Mānava Dharmaśāstra. The author flourished most probably during the Śuṅga age and the present Manusamhitā cannot be ascribed to a period later than the 1st century B. C. The next great works of importance were the Yājñavalkya Smṛti and the Smṛti of Viṣṇu, which closely follow the principles and tenets of the Mānava writer. Some of the views on ethics or law of the latter find support from the greatest commentator of the Mīmāṃsā, namely Śābara Svāmin who also belonged to the period immediately posterior to that of Manu. The general acceptance of the views of the Smṛti-writers is also proved by the evidence of social life presented by the dramas of Bhāsa and more particularly by the Mṛcchakaṭika⁽¹⁾ attributed to King Śūdraka and composed most probably during the later Kuṣāna period which was marked by Southern domination over the country round Avanti.

While Hinduism was changing its character and modifying its social outlook, Buddhism was fast losing its hold on the minds of the people. The age was marked by the rise of eminent exponents of a new Buddhist philosophy like Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna

(1) The date of the Mṛcchakaṭika has given rise to an almost endless controversy. Older Indologists used to assign it to the 1st century B.C. or A.D. But some recent writers have tried to place it in the Gupta period. This, however, is untenable and certain internal evidences militate against it. The Cārudatta tradition is undoubtedly old and the present book cannot be placed later than the 1st or 2nd century A.D. The author evidently knew the Nānaka coins of the Kuṣāṇas, and flourished in an age in which Southerners were supreme in Avanti. This takes us to the pre-Śaka period.

or the authors of the Vibhāṣā and Sūtrānta school. But, it had nothing, as we shall see very soon, to contribute towards political or social ideas. As such, the age was eventually one of Neo-Hindu reaction and revival.

In the domain of ethics and political philosophy, the pre-eminent teacher of this reactionary age was, as we have said, the unknown author of the Bhārgava recension of the Mānava Dharma-śāstra. Unknown though he is, he deserves recognition on account of his thorough mastery of the orthodox canon, his knowledge of the diverse views of the different socio-ethical schools and his acumen as a lawgiver bent upon creating a system in opposition to the one which had gained acceptance for centuries merely by his interpretations. He rightly recognizes the normal desires and natural aspirations of man which impel him to action. Furthermore, he has the clearest idea about the prime duties of governments to maintain the life and property of subjects, and his ideal of social happiness is higher than that of most of his predecessors. But in spite of these, his outlook is entirely a changed one. He takes upon himself the task of presenting a social ideal which was more for conservation than for progress. With this object he adopts a new interpretation of the older canon, with a view to overemphasising the sacerdotal ideal and nullifying the force of arguments which might go against it. In doing this, he is often exposed to the charge of self-contradiction. But he proceeds carefully and cautiously and seems to have had the support of the age. His work was welcomed by the ruling orders and it is perhaps on account of this that his compilation gained universal credence and even now holds the foremost position among the Smṛti works.

The author of the Bhārgava text was essentially a reactionary, as can be easily seen from his views on the supremacy of the

Brāhmaṇa, the social relation of the castes, the perpetual degradation of the Śūdra, the denunciation of womankind, the blind and unmoral advocacy of the absolute authority of the father over family property, unequal division among sons and the rejection of the plea for the emancipation of slaves. A detailed discussion of these topics will be out of place here, but something requires to be said with a view to defining the author's place in the social and political history of India.

As regards the Brāhmaṇa, Manu leaves us no room for doubting his faith in the semi-divine position of the sacerdotal order and he utilises much of the Epic material to extol the position of the Brāhmaṇa. With him, the Brāhmaṇa is (along with the king) the upholder of the moral order, the highest of created beings, the divine representative of Dharma and the owner of everything on earth.⁽²⁾ With his characteristic fondness for hyperbole, the writer of the *Samhitā* uses language which only speaks for itself

(2) These views appear from the following verses of the *Manusamhitā*, taken mainly from the Epic tradition, *e.g.*—

सर्वकौवास्य सर्गस्य धर्मतो ब्राह्मणः प्रभुः ॥ M. S. I.93

बुद्धिमतसुनराः येष्टा नरेषु ब्राह्मणाः स्मृताः ॥ M. S. I.96

उत्पत्तिरेव विप्रस्य मूर्तिर्धर्मस्य शश्वतौ ।

स हि धर्मार्थमुत्पन्नी ब्रह्मभूयाय कल्पते ॥ M. S. I.98

ब्राह्मणो जातमानो हि पृथिव्यामधिजायते ।

ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां धर्मकीयका गुप्तये ॥ M. S. I.99

सर्वे स्वं ब्राह्मणस्य देवयतः किञ्चिद् जगतीयतम् ।

यै हेतुनाभिजनेनैव सर्वं वै ब्राह्मणोऽर्हति ॥ M. S. I.100.

स्वमेव ब्राह्मणो भुङ्क्ते स्वं वस्ते स्वं ददाति च ।

भानृशं स्याद् ब्राह्मणस्य भुङ्क्ते हीनरूजनाः ॥ M. S. I.101

and he does everything to uphold his idealism by presenting a sternly rigid code for the Brāhmaṇa's guidance and denounces the slightest deviation from the type of Brahminhood laid down in his code. But, inspite of his high idealism, he makes himself assailable by the champions of humanity on account of his emancipation of the Brāhmaṇa from the rigours of a criminal code and his want of sympathy for the masses.

In the matter of relationship between caste and occupation, the lawgiver pretends merely to elaborate the directions of his predecessors and lays down the traditional occupations of castes and mixed castes.⁽³⁾ Generally speaking, he is averse to mixed marriages and manifests a tendency to lower the position of the children of such marriages. The marriage of a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya with a Śūdrā, he denounces in the most violent language⁽⁴⁾ and stigmatises such a union as a bar to salvation, though he himself admits the existence of customs to the contrary. Manu's violence to the Śūdra is one of the chief characteristics of his law-code and his constant declamations did more mischief by furnishing potent weapons to the more reactionary writers of a later and more decayed age. The Śūdra he excludes from higher judicial and

(3) Manu's caste theory is also important on account of the fact that he assigns to foreign tribes like the Śakas, Cīnas, Hūnas, and Yavanas an Aryan origin and attributes their downfall to a deviation from the teachings of the Brahmins (cf. M. S. X इदमलं यत् लोके ब्राह्मणादमर्शेन च ॥).

(4) Manu's vehement denunciation of the marriage of Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas with Śūdras is found in the IIIrd book of his work. Prior to this author, some of the Gṛhya writers like Gobhila had forbidden it, but they did not use so violent a language nor made it a bar to salvation. (Cf. Manu III—note the verses 13-19.) We quote one:—

यद्वा शूद्रमारीष्य ब्राह्मणो यावर्धमातिम् ।

अमयिन्वा तुत तस्यां ब्राह्मणादेव वीर्यते ॥

Elsewhere (IX. 22-23), however, he cites the cases of Akṣamālā and Śāraṅgī, who, though low-born, were married by ṛṣis and proved virtuous.

executive services, assigns to him the only duty of serving the higher castes and reserves for him all the rigours of a merciless criminal code.⁽⁵⁾ Next to Śūdra, he denounces the female sex, as being naturally disposed towards untruth and guile.⁽⁶⁾ He excludes them from higher intellectual pursuits, denies their customary inheritance (though recognising Strīdhanam), forbids sacraments or Vedic rites, violently denounces the very idea of the remarriage of widows and prescribes household duties and loyalty to husband as the sole end and aim of their existence though often he has to admit facts to the contrary.

Almost in the same strain, he advocates the retention of slavery, justifies it as an institution of divine creation and conducive to the well-being of society. Curiously enough, the language he uses is almost similar to that of Aristotle.⁽⁷⁾

(5) The Śūdra is excluded from the office of counsellor and judge (*cf.* धर्मप्रवक्ता वृषतेनं तु शूद्रः कदाचन ।). This is against the spirit of the Epics.

The only duty of the Śūdra according to Manu is service and the language used goes a long way to indentifying the Śūdra with the slave (*cf.* VII 413-414 दास्यैव हि सृष्टोऽसौ ब्राह्मणस्य स्वयमुवा । न स्वामिना निमृष्टोऽपि शूद्रो दास्यद विमुच्यते ॥). This is in curious contrast with the spirit of Arthasāstra.

(6) Manu denies freedom to women (*cf.* IX न स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्यमर्हति ।) and excludes them from sacraments and Vedic mantras (नास्ति स्त्रीणां क्रिया मन्त्रैरिति धर्मो व्यवस्थितः IX. 18). He harps on their innate perversity (*cf.* नरिन्द्रिया ह्यमन्त्राय क्षिप्रोऽवृत्तमिति स्थितिः IX. 18). Marriage was their only sacrament and loyal service to husbands the only duty (*cf.* M. S. II— वैवाहिको विधिः स्त्रीणां संस्कारो वैदिकः स्मृतः । पतिसेवा गुरौ वाको गृह्यार्थोऽद्रिपरिक्रिया ॥)

(7) On slavery the views of Manu go counter to the spirit of the Arthasāstra. While Kauṭilya is for unqualified emancipation of all, Manu pleads for slavery and regards the Śūdra as intended for the slavery of the Brahmin. What a reaction and what a degeneration in so short a period! *cf.*—

The same attitude of reaction marks the views of the law-giver on the end and aim of governments or the nature and extent of royal power. The lawgiver starts by laying stress on the anarchy which would arise in the absence of a king and then emphasises the creation of the regal office by the Almighty. His well-known lines on the origin of royal power make him a champion of regal authority out and out. He proceeds a step further than the Epic writers. In the eyes of the latter, the gods with whom the king was identified typified merely the different functions of the universal system. Indra represented leadership in war, Yama was the destroyer, Varuṇa was the judge, Agni was the punisher and purifier of sinners while Candra and Kubera were the supporters of life. But Manu identifies the king's essence with the collected essences of the divine rulers of the universal phenomena. Instead of harping on the parallelism of royal duties with those of the gods Indra, Vāyu, Yama, Agni, Varuṇa, Candra and Kubera, he tries to make the king a real counterpart of the divine rulers and clothes the regal office as well as its holder with divine veneration.⁽⁸⁾

यद् तु कारयिहास्यं कीर्तयतीतिव वा ।

दास्यदीव हि सुटीऽमी ब्राह्मणस्य स्वयम् ॥ VIII.413

न स्मामिना निवृत्तीऽपि यदो दास्यदिमुच्यते ।

निसर्गजं हि तमस्य वसुकापदोऽस्ति ॥ VIII.414

As regards property, he makes the Śūdra incapable of inheriting or holding property and places sons and wives of freemen on the same footing (*भवति पुत्रव दस्यः*) । *पुत्रव दस्यः* कृताः) .

(8) Manu's way of putting things is significant. The Epic writer, in Ch. 68 of the Śānti Parva, explains the allegorical import of the king's identification with the gods, but Manu hints at the consubstantial equality of the king with the gods. Elsewhere, too, he explains the allegorical import lying behind such a conception (*cf.* Manu Ch. IX).

Again, in explaining the evolution of the regal office, the law-giver never takes the people into account. He does not mention the election of Manu (as in M. B. Śānti 67) but makes the people a passive and inert agent in whose interests the creation of kingship was decided on by the Almighty.

The main function of the king is to protect Dharma or the moral order, self-emanent and self-existent which the author of the Manusamhitā does not clearly define, but which in its objective aspect connotes the canon guiding the ways of men leading to happiness on earth and salvation after death. The sources of Dharma, according to the author of the present samhitā, are four, viz., the *Vedas*, *Smṛti* which derived authority from its being dependent on the Śruti, *Sadācāra* or the customs and practices of the virtuous and lastly the dictates of a disciplined and virtuous conscience.

To protect Dharma, the Almighty created Daṇḍa or regulated chastisement which impelled men to follow the right path. This Daṇḍa was created out of the essence of the Brahman and protected everything through the fear of punishment; cf.—

तदर्थं सर्वभूतानां गोप्तारं दण्डमाकजम् ।
 ब्रह्मर्तुजोमयं दण्डमसृजत् पूर्वमीश्वरः ॥ VII-14
 तस्य सर्वाणि भूतानि स्वावराणि चराणि च ।
 भयाङ्गो गाय कल्पन्ते स्वधर्मान् चलन्ति च ॥ 15
 स राजा पुरुषो दण्डः स नेता यासिता च सः ।
 चतुर्णामायमाणां च धर्मस्य प्रतिभूः स्मृतः ॥ 16
 दण्डः यास्ति प्रजाः सर्वा दण्ड एवाभिरक्षति ।
 दण्डः सुप्तेषु जागर्ति दण्डं धर्मं विदुर्देवाः ॥ 17

Next, according to the author of the Manusamhitā, the king's sovereign authority arises out of his exercise of the laws of Daṇḍa

which is the upholder of Dharma. In its subjective aspect Daṇḍa is nothing but Dharma itself. Daṇḍa strikes terror into the heart of wrongdoers and restrains all from violating the path of righteousness. As such, Daṇḍa was the root and essence of moral order (*cf.* सर्वे दण्डजितो लोको दुर्लभो हि शुचिर्नरः । दण्डस्य हि भयात् सर्वं जगद् भोगाय कल्पते ॥).

The highest duty of the king is to wield the rod of punishment, impartially and with due deference to circumstances (VII 16). The king's coercive authority knows no limitations and there is no one free from the coercive authority of the king including his nearest relatives. Failure to wield the rod of punishment righteously was a sin which makes the king stray from the path of Dharma and paves the way to his downfall (VII 27-28). On earth, the king was the highest chastiser and above him stands King Varuṇa (पिताचार्यः सुहृन्माता भार्या पुत्रः पुरोहितः । नादण्डो नाम राज्ञोऽस्ति यः स्वधर्मं न तिष्ठति ॥ VIII 335). The king discharges his moral obligations by wielding the rod of punishment and the punishment inflicted by him purifies men from sin (VIII 318). If the king himself fails in awarding punishment, he in his turn is liable for his sin and has to make amends to Varuṇa (ईशो दण्डस्य वरुणो राज्ञां दण्डधरो हि सः । VIII 285).

By wielding the rod of punishment, the king is to preserve the right conduct of all and to maintain the Varnas and Āśramas (castes and stages of life). The protection of Varnas and Āśramas is the highest duty of the king (वर्णानामाश्रमाणां च राजा सृष्टोऽभिरक्षिता । VII 35). To know the real essence of Dharma as well as of Daṇḍa, the king is to discipline himself and study the Vedas, Daṇḍanīti, Ānvikshikī or Ātma-vidyā and Vārttā. He

should associate himself with the aged and always remain reverent to the Brahmins श्रुत्या ब्राह्मणानां च राज्ञां ये यस्करं परम् ॥ VII 88).

The latter should be freed from punishment and taxation. They should also be made to enjoy fiscal privileges like the ownership of treasure-troves found by them and be patronised in all possible ways.

Next, the king should have learned and virtuous purohitas and experienced ministers of high quality numbering seven or eight. Dūtas (or ambassadors), collectors of taxes (Śamāhartr) superintendents (Adhyakṣas) and officials in cities (Sarvārthacintakas) and villages should be appointed. Groups of ten or twenty villages should have different officials to preside over, with still higher officials over groups of 50, 100 or a thousand villages. All these officials are to preserve peace, collect royal dues and eradicate thorns to peace by apprehending criminals or marauders. Careful attention is to be paid to the constitution of law-courts presided over by *Prāḍivākas* trying all kind of suits arising out of the violation of rights. The whole of the VIIIth chapter is devoted to justice and gives us the laws as well as the judicial procedure.

In matters of taxation, the king is allowed the right to tax all sorts of income on account of his protection. He is allowed a share of the produce of lands, tolls on articles of trade, judicial fines and various other miscellaneous items. The amount of royal share, however, is not so high in the Manusamhitā as in the Arthaśāstra.

Secure at home and having ensured peace and good government, the king should have his army properly organised. Then he should devote his attention to the fourfold objective (VII 99 which is already enumerated by Kauṭilya, viz., preservation of that

already in hand, recovery of that lost, acquisition of new things and proper distribution or enjoyment of things obtained). To achieve supremacy in the *Maṇḍala* of states he should employ spies, know the difficulties of other kings and at the proper moment make wars of aggression. He should know the importance of the seven limbs of the state (*saptāṅga*), the principles ruling the *Maṇḍala*, the laws of the sixfold policy or *Ṣaḍguṇya* and the four means of attaining objectives, namely, *Sāma*, *Dāna*, *Bheda* and *Daṇḍa*.

Manu's dissertations on these topics prove him to be a careful student of the *Arthaśāstra* and he seems to have borrowed largely from his predecessors of that school. These borrowings are not confined to the domain of internal politics but extend to matters relating to the administrative machinery. Thus, in the matter of taxation, he mentions almost all the items of royal dues, though regarding the amount of royal share, he follows the older *Dharmaśāstras* or the *Epics*. He calls upon kings not to be over-greedy, exhorts them to put an end to all hindrances to peace (*Kaṇṭhaka*) and justifies a levy of taxes on artisans and even forced labour. He advocates the punishment of low-caste people taking to orders but makes exceptions in the case of those people who leave their homes after making provisions for children and dependants.

But with all this, his is a narrower outlook inasmuch as he pays not the same amount of attention to the material development of the king's subjects, as was the case with the *Arthaśāstra* writers. The only people whose suffering he tries to remove and for whom he advocates the fullest amount of bounty are the *Śrotriya*s (VII 133-135). To sum up, Manu's ideals are the consolidation of regal authority and the maintenance of moral order.

To consolidate regal authority and to extol the king's position, Manu not only enunciates his theory of the divine origin of monarchy but goes on to free kings from the chances of revolt or opposition on the part of subjects. We have already seen how he has utilised the older ideas of the Epics to his purpose, but not satisfied with it he tries hard to safeguard the king's position by advancing a doctrine similar to non-resistance adopted by the advocates of regal authority when opposing a tyrannical king in Mediæval Europe. The Epic writers, though they advocated obedience, at least admitted the chances of subjects rising in revolt. Some of them, as we have already seen (I. p. 294), emphasised the moral right of revolution and the extremists among them went so far as to make tyrannicide a duty of subjects. But Manu does nothing of the kind. He harps merely on the excellence of the king, the omnipotence of his prerogatives and the consequences of royal anger. For unrighteous kings, he prescribes gradual decay and final downfall through the process of the immutable laws of nature, and enumerates the examples of Vena, Nahuṣa and Sudāsa losing everything through indiscipline. Under such circumstances, we find his veneration for the regal office carried too far and this is transferred to the holder of that office who, as we have seen is to be regarded as a *Devatā* on earth (महती देवता ज्ञेया नररूपेण तिष्ठति । VII. 8).

While such a theory of unquestioned obedience gained acceptance in an age of anarchy and foreign invasion, the over-jealousness of the reactionary writer did not make him entirely forget some of the traditional limitations of regal power. Thus, Manu does not confer on the king the right to tamper with the laws and their interpretation which he vests solely in the Brāhmaṇas, the sacerdotal order, holding a position of privileged supremacy in

society (see Bk. XI). Similarly, Manu does not go so far as to recognise the king's ownership of land. According to him ownership resided in the community and he admits real ownership in a plot of land to be vested in him who cleared it. The king's right to taxation, similarly, arises according to him, from his function of protection and he prescribes downfall and a future life in hell for those who realised taxes without granting protection to their subjects; *cf.*—

योऽरक्षन् बलिमादत्ते करं शुल्कं च पार्थिवः ।

प्रतिभोगं च दण्डं च स मद्यो नरकं व्रजेत् ॥ VIII-304 et seq.

To sum up, the spirit of Manu's ethics and politics was reaction in society and subjugation in politics. He extols coercion and discards altogether the primary principles of the Kautilyan ideal of paternal government. His sympathies were for the maintenance of the moral order and the patronage of the sacerdotal caste. For the masses or for the material progress of mankind he has not a word to say except that the former should be put down and kept completely in check.

The mischief done was incalculable. The influence of his law-code was too deep to last for a century or two. It affected the outlook of society for ages to come and smothered the spirit of reason or moderation in the individual. Whatever was good in him was forgotten but the evil swelled with the usury of ages and helped to bear down society to the abyss of downfall. The constant employment of *Arthavāda*, the systematic harping on the religious scruples and fears of the people, and the tendency to identify the aim of religion and politics bore bitter fruit. In later ages, his code became the ideal of reactionary lawgivers and was the gospel for those who followed without reasoning and accepted without

questioning. It became the sole source of authority to the agents of reaction in the task of upholding a stagnant society with its privileges for the higher orders and perpetual repression of the lower castes.

The other Smṛti-writers of the period were the authors of the Yājñavalkya and Viṣṇu Smṛtis. Yājñavalkya closely follows many of the tenets of the Manusamhitā. He enumerates the 19 authors of Smṛti, extols the importance of the Dharmaśāstras and expressly lays down the excellence of these over Arthaśāstras (I. 21 चर्यशास्त्रास्तु बलवद्भर्मशास्त्रमिति । नः ।). Like Manu, he mentions the four sources of Dharma, (though he enumerates subsidiary sources of knowledge which are fourteen in number), extols the supremacy of the Brāhmaṇa, directs kings to be kind to them (I. 334) and makes regal authority the sole basis of order and progress. In addition to the traditional privileges, Brāhmaṇas are assigned half of treasure-troves and kings are called upon to take their advice. He is also averse to the independence of women (see I. 85 नस्त्रातन्मू' कचित् स्त्रियः ।). Like the author of the Manusamhitā he prescribes for kings the study of the four sciences (Ānvīkṣikī, Daṇḍanīti, Vārttā and Trayī), though the Vedas are put last. He mentions the four traditional means and aims of politics and accepts, like Manu, Kauṭilya's seven limbs of the state. He emphasises the universal coercive jurisdiction of the king (I. 358). In many cases, we have not only a similarity of ideas between the Manusmṛti and the Yājñavalkya but also a similarity in language. Yājñavalkya too is a believer in the obedience of subjects, identifies Daṇḍa with Dharma (I. 354) and uses language similar to that found in the Manusamhitā in

prescribing a life in hell for unrighteous kings (I. 357) who fail to punish properly (see also I. 341).

The chapters on civil law are more developed in this *Smṛti* and we have a mention of the ordeals (II. 95). The various sections of law show however a more intimate acquaintance with the *Arthaśāstra* code and *Yājñavalkya* who gives a high place to *Nyāya* (I. 21), utilises more materials from the *Kauṭīliya* as pointed out by Dr. Shamasastri in his footnotes to the English translation. *Yājñavalkya* moreover does not, like the *Mānava Code*, lay down the number of ministers (I. 312). In one place, he alludes to the 'paternal ideal' so prominent in the *Arthaśāstra* (I. 351 *स्याद्राजा मृत्युवर्गेषु प्रजासु च यथा पिता*). He follows also the *Kauṭīliya* when he directs kings (II. 36) to compensate subjects (from the treasury) who lose money or goods stolen by thieves, and thus emphasises the contractual relation between the king and his subjects. In foreign policy *Yājñavalkya* pleads for the retention of existing laws in a conquered country (I. 343). While speaking of the necessity of having ministers, he uses practically the language of the *Arthaśāstrā* (cf. *यथा ह्येकेन चक्रेण रथस्य न गतिर्भवेत्* II. 36—*Yāj. Smṛti*). The *Viṣṇu Smṛti* has almost the same social scheme as the *Manusamhitā* or the *Yājñavalkya Samhitā*. The author denounces marriages of Brahmins with *Sūdra* women and calls upon kings to maintain the law of castes and *āśramas*. He makes *Brāhmaṇas* practically exempt from taxation and they are allowed to appropriate the whole of treasures discovered by them. His scheme of local government is based on older traditions, though slightly differing from that in the *Manusamhitā*.

The author of the Smṛti is a believer in the traditional theory of taxation and makes the king entitled to a share of all incomes, on account of his protection. He assigns to the king the traditional one-sixth, one-eighth or one-twelfth of the produce of land and one-fiftieth of cattle and gold in addition to a sixth on vegetables, spices, flowers, roots, hides and earthenware (VII 130-132). Customs duties and tolls are recognized as well as the produce of mines and a half of treasure-troves. Kings were also allowed to levy taxes on artisans and workmen of all descriptions. The author of the Samhitā makes the king entitled to a tenth part of the money-value of suits adjudicated in royal courts. His criminal code is severe. His theory of the state and of foreign policy is what we find in the Arthaśāstra (VII. 154-174) but he is averse to the destruction of a conquered country.

Mīmāṃsā.—Apart from these three lawgivers, we have no other prominent theorists on politics and government during this period. But from the *Mīmāṃsā*-writer, Śābarasvāmī, we have some clear ideas as to contemporary views on the vexed question of royal ownership of land. This has received prominence in view of the controversy raised by European writers as to whether the share paid to government by Indian cultivators and landlords is rent or tax, and the more so because there have been attempts in some quarters to interpret Sanskrit texts with a view to bringing their import into a line with the ideas and practices which obtain in Europe. The over-zealous ignorance of some writers has also lent support to the theory of the king's ownership of land which is advocated by English writers. But the true import of the passages becomes clear when we go through important texts and care to accept an interpretation fitting to the context and not opposed to the general spirit of Hindu law. Śābara's comment on the Jaimini

Sūtras (VI. 7. 3) where the question of king's rights to alienate his territory in connection with the celebration of the Viśvajit sacrifice enables us to make our ideas clear on this point.

Sabara comments on Jaimini's Sūtra “ न भूमिः स्वात् सर्वान् प्रत्यवशिष्टत्वात् ” as follows :—

अथैव सर्वदाने संप्रयः । किं भूमिर्देया — न इति । का पुनर्भूमिरचा-
भिप्रेता—यदेतन्मृदारब्धं द्रव्यान्तरं पृथिवीगोलकं न चेन्नमत्रं सृत्तिका वा—
एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः न भूमिर्देया इति । कुतः चेन्नाणामीशितारो मनुष्या न दृश्यन्ते
कृत्स्नस्य पृथिवीगोलकस्य इति । आह य इदानीं सार्वभौमः स तर्हि ब्रूमः ।
कुतो यावता भोगिनः सार्वभौमा भूमेरीष्टे तावता अन्योऽपि न तत्र कश्चिद्विशेषः ।
सार्वभौमत्वेऽस्य त्वेतदधिकं यदसौ पृथिव्यां सम्भूतानां व्रीह्यादीनां रक्षणे
निविष्टस्य कस्यचिद् भागस्य ईष्टे—न भूमेः—तद्विविष्टाश्च ये मनुष्याः तैरन्यत्
सर्वप्राणिनाम् धारणविक्रमणादि यद् भूमिः कृतं तत्रेशितं प्रति न कश्चिद्विशेषः ।
तस्माद् भूमिर्न देया ।

Colebrooke discusses this question in his essay on *Mīmāṃsā* and summarises the views of the *Mīmāṃsā*-writers, especially Sabara (commenting on VI. 7. 3) and clearly emphasises the cardinal principle of Hindu law that minor princes as well as their universal overlords are not the owners of the soil. By conquests kings become entitled only to the property of the conquered kings and not to the land of the subjects living on the annexed territory. In these the conqueror is entitled to the share of the produce which goes to the ruler for his protection and punishment of wrong-doing. Nothing else is vested in him. Colebrooke summarises by saying, “ The King's power is for the government of the realm and extirpation of wrongs. For that purpose, he receives taxes from husbandmen and levies fines on offenders. But right of property is not vested in him; else he would have property in houses and

lands appertaining to the subjects abiding in the realm. The earth is not the king's but is common to all beings enjoying the fruits of their labour. It belongs according to Jaimini to all alike. Therefore, although a gift of a piece of land to an individual does take place, the whole land cannot be given by the monarch, nor a province by the subordinate prince but houses and fields acquired by purchase and similar means are liable to gift." On this head we shall have to devote more attention especially in connection with the views of later writers like Kātyāyana or commentators like Vijñāneśvara, Nīlakaṇṭha or Mādhava. Mr. Jayaswal has discussed this question in detail in his *Hindu Polity* (II. 174-178) and it obtained a similar attention from other writers on the Hindu theory of land-tenure (S. C. Mitra's *Landlaws of Bengal*, Ch. I). They have all relied on this passage, and as such they have adopted the right line of agreement and conclusion.⁽⁹⁾

(9) We have already discussed the question of regal ownership of land in connection with the land-policy of the Kautiliya government and shown clearly (Ch. II, p. 38) how two classes of land, e.g., the Brahma-deya and the A-karada, remained exempt from rent. The A-karada tenants were owners of free-hold paying taxes in lieu of protection but not rent. There is no denying the fact that through the process of conquest large patches of land passed to the king in proprietary right but conquest never extinguished the rights of freeholders of the conquered kingdom and they retained their ownership till the last days of Hindu independence.

In such a discussion, we should try to have a clear line of demarcation between the king's or the conqueror's suzerain rights and his proprietary right as is done in modern International Law. When a province is annexed by a conqueror, the private property of the ruler or state property in land in that region passes to the conqueror and he is entitled to taxes from his new subjects who enjoy as of old their proprietary rights. The principle of Hindu law is very clear on this point and later writers like Kātyāyana leave no room for misunderstanding.

IV

Political Thought of the Buddhists

The influence of a similar reaction is evident from the study of contemporary Buddhist works. As pointed out already, the social ideals of the Buddhists were subjected to the influence of similar forces and the idea of a theocratic state floated before their eyes. Dharma became the supreme ruling and guiding principle and the Jātaka preambles repeatedly speak of Buddha as Dharma-cakravartī with his lieutenants described as Dharmasenāpati, Saciva or Bhāṇḍāgārika. As the character of Buddhism changed and the active Bodhisattva became the more intimate object of veneration, the Buddhist came to be more and more influenced by the reaction in favour of an enhanced regal authority. Furthermore, as some of the contemporary teachers and writers on Buddhism were of Brāhmaṇa descent, they merely continued the ancient tradition about kingship and government in the absence of a specific Buddhist political code. This is apparent from the writings of the Northern Buddhists, the most prominent among whom during this period was Aśvaghoṣa. Sprung from a Brahmin family and reputed to have been a courtier at the court of Kaniska, he is regarded as the author of a number of works including the epics of Buddha-carita and the Saundarānanda and even of the Vajrasūci. In all these writings, there is nothing which militates against the contemporary teachings of Brahman-

ism, though in social matters we have an attack on caste in the *Vajrasūci*. The closing verses of the first canto of the *Saundarānanda* show clearly that the poet was a believer in the evils of anarchy and goes on to narrate the election of a king at *Kapilavastu* and the king-elect accepted royalty for the sake of maintaining the precepts of *Dharma* (l. 60-63—note the words धर्माय नेन्द्रियमुखाय जुगोप राष्ट्रम् ।). Not satisfied with this, *Aśvaghosa* proceeds further and makes *Suddhodana* a crowned king instead of an elected president and the king is made to rule, receiving a sixth part of the produce as his share. In the case of the *Jātakamālā* by *Āryasūra*, it goes a long way to support these views. In Story II, he makes the *Sibi* king rule his subjects as if they were his children and the king is distinguished not only by his charity, but also builds alms-houses, relieves the distress of all and calls upon his subjects to inform him of their causes of complaint. The other stories are written in the same spirit and they show the influence of the reaction in political thought.

The only deviation from contemporary thought and ideals is *Aśvaghosa's* denunciation of the spirit of caste and his plea for the recognition of the position of men through merit and not by social status or birth (cf. जातिब्राह्मणो न भवति । इह हि कैवल्यरजक-चण्डालकुलेष्वपि ब्राह्मणाः सन्ति . . . एकवर्णो नास्ति चातुर्वर्ण्यम् ।).

The influence of contemporary thought is discernible even in the *Lalitavistara*, which has nothing specifically Buddhistic in it. The influence of *Dharma* idealism is also found in other writers. *Āryadeva*, reputed to have been a great teacher and the author of the *Catuḥśatikā*, a philosophical work, gives us his views on kingship and has two passages devoted to the consideration of

politics and kingship. In these two passages he pleads for the reign of righteousness and condemns the doing of kings of the Iron Age who had substituted violence for paternal care, had converted the world into a deer park and justified their conduct by the rules of Dharma as laid down by the ṛṣis. Āryadeva protests against these presumptions and displays of arrogance on the part of despots ruling in an age of anarchy and in denouncing such conduct falls back on an older tradition reminding kings that they were but the servants of the multitude and subsisted on the wages given by the people they ruled (गणदासस्य ते दपः षड्भागेन भुत्स्य कः ।).⁽¹⁾

Secular Writers.—Leaving the poet Aśvaghoṣa, whose writings have already been considered in connection with Buddhist thought, we proceed to other secular writers of the period, the most prominent among whom are the poets Bhāsa and Śūdraka the author of *Mṛcchakaṭika*. Bhāsa, about whose date there is still much doubt, lived probably not later than the IIIrd or IVth cen. A.D. His dramas are based on plots borrowed from the Epics or

(1) These passages, first cited by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his *Carmichael Lectures* (I. p. 129), have been misunderstood by later writers and some of them have proceeded so far as to make them the corner-stone of a Buddhist theory of emancipation of morality from the influence of politics. One writer has attempted to show its direct opposition to the Brāhmagical canon which made politics independent of morality. As instances of such disregard for morality the author cites the rules of Brāhmagical codes, justifying the execution of criminals, slaughter of enemies in battle and treacherous attacks on hostile kings.

A careful analysis, however, makes us hold such conclusions as unwarranted. Brāhmagical works never regard politics independent of morality but on the contrary make the political machinery the upholder of the moral canon. But the very fact that they lay down rules of practical politics makes them sanction coercive measures and sacrifice the extreme tenets of pacifism. Āryadeva, a writer on philosophy, had little room for the rules of conduct to be adopted by a king and hence his plea for pacifism has no bearing upon that question. In common with the Brāhmagical writers he was a believer in the rule of righteousness or Dharma and merely echoes the traditional theories of taxation and the contract subsisting between the king and his subjects.

on legends current in those days. He is a believer in the traditional Brāhmaṇic order of things. In politics, he seems to have been acquainted with the traditional Dharmaśāstra rules. He stands for the supremacy of Dharma, the consolidation of monarchy and of ministerial loyalty to the crown, not to speak of the supremacy of the Brāhmaṇa. Neither a believer in popular supremacy nor in regal despotism, he derives his inspiration from the epic tradition and pleads for the continuance of the traditional regime.

Sūdraka's date has not yet been clearly ascertained but he must have lived near about the 1st century A.D. which saw a lax social life and the decay of Buddhism. His book describes the consequences of an age of anarchy and he gives us the picture of the tyranny of a low-born king, the excesses of his favourites and the consequent revolt of subjects. His kingly ideal is summarised in two verses. In the first verse where Sūdraka is described as the ideal king, he is depicted as one versed in the Vedas and the sciences and performing sacred sacrifices like the Aśvamedha. In the concluding verse of the drama or the Bharatavākya, he prays for an ideal state of existence in which the natural forces contribute to the prosperity of mankind and when the pious are honoured and a righteous king rules obedient to the laws of Dharma.

Towards the close of the period, the study of Arthaśāstra was revived and Kāmandaka wrote his Nītisāra. About this book or its precepts proper attention should be given in connection with the writings of the next period.

BOOK IX

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS FROM REVIVAL TO FINAL DOWNFALL

*IVth Century A.D. to
XIIIth Century A.D*

↓
The close of the IIIrd century A.D. and the dawn of the IVth were marked by a remarkable political revival. Almost all the foreign powers declined and indigenous dynasties raised their heads. Three such powers divided the supremacy over the country amongst themselves. In the plain of Hindustan, the Guptas became the suzerain authority, Central India and the Deccan passed to the Vākātakas,⁽¹⁾ and in the extreme south, a new power, the Pallavas,⁽²⁾ made themselves the overlords of the three Tamil

(1) *The Vākātaka Dynasty.*—They dominated Central India from the close of the IIIrd century A.D. to the middle of the VIIth century (530 A.D.). The founder of the line was Vindhyasakti, whose son Pravarasena I was a great king and in his line arose princes who performed innumerable Vajspaya and Asvamedha sacrifices. The early Vākātakas formed a marital alliance with the Nāgas of Bhārasīva. They were Śaivites and worshippers of Śakti. In the height of their power, the Vākātakas ruled over an empire stretching from the Narmada to the Kṛṣṇā, while the Pādambas and some other smaller principalities acknowledged their suzerainty. Harisena was the last prominent ruler of the kingdom. (For details see Jouveau-Dubreuil's *Deccan*, pp. 71-76, Vincent Smith's articles in *J. R. A. S.* 1914, Krishnaswamy Iyengar in *Ind. Antiq.* 1935.)

(2) *The Pallavas.*—The origin of the Pallavas is shrouded in mystery. Early writers like V. Smith, Venkayya and Rice regarded the Pallavas as foreigners and tried to identify them with the Pahlavas of Western India. As the result of the researches of a number of workers, especially Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil, this theory of Persian origin has been discarded and various theories of indigenous origin has gained ground (see Dubreuil pp. 46-57, also Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas*, pp. 1-31). The Pallava power was

principalities which had been fighting for supremacy, while the north-western regions, first conquered by the Mauryas, became permanently detached from the monarchy that dominated Hindustan. The Guptas under Samudragupta made a bid for universal dominion but in spite of their extravagant claims, they failed to extend their supremacy over the Deccan or penetrate the south.⁽³⁾

Under Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya, the Guptas succeeded in annexing the territories of the Śakas of Ujjain, but their power did not long survive. Under Kumāragupta and Skandagupta, there were other waves of foreign invasion and in spite of the best efforts of Skandagupta, the almost imperial power of the Guptas succumbed, by the middle of the VIth century, to these attacks. Offshoots of the dynasty, however, maintained themselves in many of the provinces,⁽⁴⁾ e.g., in Malwa, Magadha and Bengal.

probably founded during the middle of the IIIrd century A.D. by Bapparāja, the fifth in line from him, Viṣṇugopa being a contemporary of Samudragupta (340 A.D.). These rulers issued charters in Prakrit and were followed by princes who have left records in Sanskrit. From 575 to 900 A.D. the South was ruled by the greater Pallavas, who were powerful monarchs and had to fight the Cālukyas in the North. Narasimha-Varman I (630-660 A.D.) defeated Pulakeśin II and invaded Ceylon. Towards the close of the IXth century, the Pallavas became weak and succumbed to the inroads of the Colas.

(3) *Samudragupta's Southern Advance.*—The extravagance of Samudragupta's claims is apparent from the fact that the writer of *Prasasti* does not take care to mention even the Vākātakas who ruled over so extensive an empire. Again, the wrong identification of place-names by modern historians made him appear as the conqueror of the South. In fact, the time has come when scholars will doubt the fact of his having passed beyond the mouth of the Godāvari where he was repulsed and whence he had to beat a hasty retreat. (On this point, see Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil's objections in his *History of the Deccan*, p. 117.)

(4) *The Later Guptas.*—The later history of the Gupta dynasty is yet to be written. Probably, Puragupta succeeded Skandagupta and after him came a number of other Gupta Kings with authority more nominal than real. The names of these are Narasimha-gupta Balāditya, Kumāragupta II, Budhagupta, Tathāgatagupta and Balāditya who ruled from about 473 A.D. to cir. 540 A.D. After these princes, the nominal authority of

Other political changes took place about the same time. The Vākātakas were ultimately (by middle of the VIth century) supplanted by the Cālukyās in the Deccan and with these latter, a perennial struggle was waged by the Pallavas of the south. In Northern India, a number of states arose out of the break-up of the Gupta Empire. Powerful kings warred for suzerainty but none succeeded in establishing permanent supremacy. King Yaśodharman who defeated the Hūyas dominated for a time but was probably defeated by some powerful rival king. Towards the close of the VIth century, a number of dynasties established themselves in various provinces of Northern India. Prominent among these were the ruling families of Magadha, the Valabhi princes,⁽⁶⁾ the rulers of Thaneswar (Prabhākara-vardhana's line),⁽⁷⁾

the Guptas in Northern India became further reduced and seems to have been mainly confined to Eastern India. Here we find the line of Kṛṣṇagupta holding away—namely, Kṛṣṇagupta, Kumāragupta III, Dāmodaragupta, Mahāsenagupta, Devagupta II, and Mādhavagupta. The Guptas had some authority in Eastern India, and on the death of Harṣa, the contemporary Gupta King Adityasena asserted his sovereign authority over a large part of Eastern India and performed some Aśvamedha sacrifices. The age of anarchy helped him to make extravagant claims. But after the third prince of his line (Jyotiṣgupta II), the authority of the Guptas was finally extinguished.

(5) *Yaśodharman*.—Yaśodharman, described as a “*Janendra*” and a devout Saivite, defeated the Hūyas and established authority over a vast empire. His Mandasore inscriptions have come down to us. Probably, his supremacy was short-lived.

(6) *Valabhi Princes*.—The Valabhi princes claimed descent from Senāpati Bhāṭārka, a worshipper of the God Mahāśvara, commanding an army of Maitrakas (see Māliya Copper Pl. Ins. of 252 Gupta year). They attained power and prosperity under his successor. The third prince of the line, Māha-Daṇḍanāyaka and Sāmanta Droṇa Simha, took the title of Mahārāja, while Dharmasena IV took the styles and titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Rājacakravartī (cir. 326-330 G. year).

(7) *Thaneswara Kings*.—Near about Thaneswara arose the line of Saivite Kings producing Prabhākara-Vardhana, Rājya-Vardhana, and Harṣa-Vardhana. The founder of the dynasty was Puṣpabhūti.

of Kashmir⁽⁸⁾ (with a number of dependencies), of Kāmarūpa⁽⁹⁾ (in Eastern India), the Maukharis⁽¹⁰⁾ in the upper Ganges Valley, West Bengal (under different lines of kings which produced the conqueror Śaśāṅka)⁽¹¹⁾ and several other localities in Eastern Bengal (for these princes see Dr. R. C. Majumdar's *Monograph on the History of Bengal* pp. 14-17), while in Central India ruled the two lines of Parivrājakas and Uccakalpa Mahārājas, who had more or less acknowledged the power of the Guptas.

The downfall of the Vākātakas, similarly, caused a serious turmoil in Central India and the Deccan. In their days of prosperity, they had exercised suzerain authority over a large number of minor kingdoms. Thus, their allies and feudatories probably included the princes of Śarabhapura, the Traikūtakas of the western coast, the Śālaṅkāyanas of Veṅgipūra, their relatives the Viṣṇukūṇḍins of Śrī-Parvata and the Kadambas of the Kanarese districts.

(8) *Kashmir*.—Kashmir became a powerful kingdom. About the time of Harṣa, the Karkoṭa dynasty was founded by Durlabha-Vardhana, son-in-law of Balāditya. At the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit, the kings of Kashmir exercised suzerainty over a large number of states on the western frontier.

(9) *Kāmarūpa*.—Kāmarūpa too was a separate kingdom. Its earliest epigraphic mention is in the Praśasti of Samudragupta. During Harṣa's time Bhāskaravarman ruled there. He was Harṣa's ally.

(10) *Maukharis*.—The Maukharis were a line of powerful Saivite kings whose inscriptions are found in Jaunpur, near about Gaya and in some places of the Central Provinces. Though occasionally connected by marriage with the Guptas, they were often at war with the latter dynasty. The more important kings of this line were Mahārāja Harivarman, Adityavarman, Isvaravarman, Sarvavarman, etc.

(11) *King Śaśāṅka*.—The real history of Śaśāṅka is yet to be written. His family and the exact date of his accession are not known, but the name Śaśāṅka occurs in two inscriptions (e.g., Rhotasgarh and Ganjam plates) and it seems that this ambitious prince extended his authority from Ganjam to Northern and Western Bengal and Bihar and made a bid for imperial authority. His capital was Karna-Suvarṇa and gold coins bearing his name have been found. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang calls him the murderer of Rājya-Vardhana, but we have nothing else to prove it.

On the downfall of the Vākātakas, the Kaṭaccuris ruled over a region extending from Nasik to Ujjain, the Eastern Gaṅgas exercised authority near about Orissa, while the Kadambas maintained themselves in Kuntala. But the Kaṭaccuris, Kadambas as well as the Viṣṇukundins were conquered by Pulakeśin II of the Cālukya dynasty or by his predecessors.⁽¹²⁾

In the region of the extreme south, the Pallavas of the IIIrd dynasty exercised suzerain authority. They had quarrels with the Cālukyas of the north, Veṅgi being the bone of contention. The Pallava Mahendravarman (600-630) who was a patron of Saivism checked the Cālukyas, while Narasiṃha-varman⁽¹³⁾ burnt Vātāpi, causing the death of Pulakeśin II.

Indian during the middle of the VIIth Century.—The middle of the VIIth century saw the waging of a many-sided contest amongst a number of fighting princes. King Harṣavardhana of Kanauj, having his allies of Kāmarūpa and Mālava-Sarāṣṭra and related to the Maukharis, had to fight (according to some) Śaśāṅka of Western Bengal and became the suzerain over a large part of Hindustan, but his southern progress was checked by Pulakeśin II Cālukya, who in his turn was checked by the Pallava Nara-

(12) *Pulakeśin II.*—Pulakeśin II Cālukya was a powerful prince and ruled from 611 to 630 A.D. He conquered Mahārāṣṭra, the principality of the Kadambas, and reduced the Mauryas of Konkan, and the kings of Lāṭa and Mālava. His other enemies were Harṣavardhana in the north and the Pallava Narasiṃhavarman in the south. He succeeded in checking Harṣa, but a sudden invasion of the Pallava Narasiṃhavarman made him lose his capital and life. He gave the eastern part of his kingdom to his brother, who founded the line of the Eastern Cālukyas. He received a special embassy from the king of Persia and was visited by Hsien Tsang.

(13) *Narasiṃhavarman Pallava.*—Narasiṃhavarman (630-668 A.D.), the greatest of the Pallavas, not only checked the Cālukyas but sacked and burnt their capital Vātāpi. He also conquered Ceylon and had a very powerful navy. He kept the Ceras, Colas and Pāṇḍyas under his authority.

simha-varman. The Indus Valley and Kashmir⁽¹⁴⁾ together with the north-western frontier states remained separated from the plain of Hindustan and the rulers of Kashmir became for a time the dominant power in that region. Nepal like Kashmir became separated from the politics of Northern India and the dynasties cultivated friendly relations with Tibet and China.

The closing years of Harṣa's reign were remarkable for the dawn of an era of great changes. It was during his life-time that the religion of Islam was preached by Prophet Muhammad and Harṣa was still living while the Arab conquest of Persia was completed and that of the Makran coast undertaken. Lacking in the genius of consolidation Harṣa's sporadic conquests were not likely to survive and his tendencies gave little assurance to that effect. Like the thoughtless religious propaganda of Aśoka, the meaningless charity and extravagance of Harṣa bore bitter fruit. His own kingdom fell into the hands of a usurper, necessitating Chinese and Tibetan interference.⁽¹⁵⁾ The new political condition,

(14) The kings of Kashmir belonging to the Karkoṭa dynasty had become very powerful. Probably King Dur'ab'a-Vardhana was the contemporary of Harṣa. According to Hiuen Tsang, the kings of Kashmir exercised suzerainty over the extreme north-west and were very powerful.

(15) We can hardly understand the reasons why Harṣa is so highly extolled by European writers on the history of India. Not to speak of writers like Ettinghausen or Kennedy, even the late Sir Vincent Smith went so far as to describe him as the last great Emperor of India, whose death marked the final disruption of a central power in Northern India and the beginning of an age of perennial internal struggle until the appearance of the Mussalmans.

Yet a careful study of the history of his reign makes us thoroughly disillusioned. The empire of Harṣa did not even comprise the whole of Northern India, and small as the area was under his suzerain authority, it was hardly consolidated into a lasting empire. He warred on, he conquered,—he thought of further expansion beyond the Narmadā—but he failed to consolidate. As soon as he closed his eyes, nothing remained of that empire: a usurper sat on his throne and Chinamen and Tibetans came to put an end to anarchy.

for a time, robbed Eastern India of its preponderating influence over the politics of India. The suzerainty over the North-Western trans-frontier states passed to other nations and after a bitter struggle the princes of the Tang dynasty became masters of North-Western India and Central Asia.

More serious enemies to Indian culture and political existence appeared in the person of the early propagandists, spiritual and military, of Islam. Arab armies made their appearance on the north and western frontiers of India. Makran was invaded and after the defeat of Sihas-rai and Sāhasī, the Śūdra kings of Sindh, the Makran coast was lost to the Hindus permanently⁽¹⁶⁾ (644 A.D.). Sindh⁽¹⁷⁾ itself resisted for another 70 years under the Brahmin usurper Chach and his son Dāhir, but ultimately suc-

True to speak, his was no empire in any sense of the word. His age, too, was one which marked the high tide of growing Indian demoralisation. While he was indulging in charities and benevolences, his biographer was denouncing even the tradition of an imperial rule and scoffing at the memory of Kauṭilya. With all these, however, he was fortunate enough to have able biographers to sound the trumpet of his glory—one to describe his great conquests which did not survive even a decade after his death, the other to harp on his great piety which did nothing but help in the coming ruin and open the gates of India to a foreign enemy. (For one of the ablest estimates of Harṣa see B. C. Majumdar's paper in J. B. O. R. S. 1923.)

(16) *The Conquest of the Makran Coast*.—Once established in Persia, the Arabs turned their eyes to the Makran coast and Sindh. Probably, Makran was subject to Sindh which was ruled by Sāhasī, a Śūdra according to the evidence of Hinen Tsang and the Chachnāmā. In all probability, the Makran coast was overrun by the Arabs about the year 640 A.D.

(17) *The Conquest of Sindh*.—Sindh, according to the *Harṣavarṇa*, had been conquered by Harṣa (and made the wealth of Sindh his own "सुवर्णमयं निम्नं राजं प्रमथ्य लब्धोऽपदीय कृत"). Who this Sindh King was we do not know, but he has been identified with Sāhasī. After him, the throne was usurped by a Brahmana named Chacha. This usurper consolidated his authority and was followed by his brother and then by his son Dāhir. Dāhir had a dispute with Hajjaḥ, the Muslim governor of Persia, regarding reparations for the looting of presents intended for the Khalīf Walīd by the pirates of Dewal. This led to successive Arab invasions, the last being led by Muhammad bin Kasim, who defeated Dāhir after gaining the help of the local Buddhists. Sindh passed to the Arabs (712-713 A.D.).

cumbed to the invasion of Muhammad-ibn-Kasim who got assistance from the rebellious local Buddhists (714 A.D.). Simultaneously, the Arabs pressed hard in Central Asia and the western border and though with Chinese help, the princes of Kashmir, Udyāna (Swat) and Chitral maintained themselves for some time (720 to 751 A.D.), the defeat of the Chinese General Sien-Chi, made the task of Arab advance towards India easier.

The Great Political Revolution of the VIIIth Century.—But with all these events, India proper was not destined to fall an easy prey to the Islamic armies. In the face of foreign aggression, there came an almost synchronous political revolution which marked the ascendancy of new powers and which checked the spirit of disintegration and anarchy. The Rajputs⁽¹⁹⁾ came to rule

(16) *Islamic Expansion in Central Asia.*—Side by side there was an extension of Islamic power in Central Asia. An Islamic kingdom was founded near Bokhara by Asad, a Zoroastrian convert to Mahomedanism (825 A.D.). Under his son and grandson, the sovereignty of the Samanides was extended over Samarkhand and Fergana. About 912 A.D. an officer of the Samanides, Yakub-i-Lais, captured Herat, occupied Zabolistan from the Rajputs and also took away the citadel of Kabul, which was then in the hands of the Brahmin Shāhīs, whose dynasty was founded by Kallar.

In the reign of the Samanide, Nuh (942 acc.), Turkish slaves were enlisted in the Amir's army, and in the reign of Abdul Malik and his successor Mansur, Turks rose into prominence. One of these Turki slaves, Alaptigin, founded the kingdom of Ghazni and later on this principality passed into the hands of Subuktigin. Subuktigin's son was the celebrated Mahmud who was destined to be the terror of the Hindus.

While the Turks were gaining in power day by day their further eastern extension was blocked by the Hindu state of Kabul and Panjab, ruled by Brahmin kings of the Shāhī dynasty. We have inscriptions of kings Kalakaverman, Bhīma and Jayapāla of this line and coins of many kings. After the capture of Kabul citadel, the capital of the Hindu kingdom was transferred to Wāhind (Udabāhāḍa). Jayapāla was Subuktigin's contemporary.

(19) *The Rajputs.*—"Who were the Rajputs," is a question to which a satisfactory answer is yet to be given. Claiming descent from the Kṣatriya heroes of antiquity, they proved themselves to have been the most redoubtable champions of Hinduism and even now they are distinguished by their fine physique and martial bearing. Yet, in spite of all these, they have been regarded as foreigners of low origin or as lower caste Hindus elevated to a higher social position. The main reasons for the adoption of these hypotheses are: (1) they arise suddenly in the VIIIth century, (2) the legend of the origin

in most kingdoms. Just about the middle of the VIIIth century A.D. four great powers arose in the country :—

(I) The Gurjara-Pratihāras,⁽²⁰⁾ who had established their principality in the VIth century or even before that time, became a great military power and advanced to the Punjab border and the plain of Hindustan. They were destined not only to make a bid for supremacy over central and western Hindustan but to act as a bulwark against Islamic aggression for nearly two centuries.

of the Agnikūlas points to their artificial elevation by the Brahmins to recruit fighters for Hinduism, (3) similarity of some Rajput tribe-names to some of the non-Aryan clan-names (Huga, Jit, Takṣaka, etc.).

At one time it was fashionable to regard the Rajputs as Scythians, after the views of Colonel Tod. But more recently, there have been new theories about the origin of the Rajputs. On this point, Professor D. R. Bhandarkar's *Foreign Elements in Hindu Population* (Ind. Ant., Vol. XL) is of great interest. Sir V. Smith's most recent views are to be found in his *Oxford History of India* (pp. 172-174). Prominent among those who believe in the Kṣatriya origin of the Rajputs is Mr. C. V. Vaidya, the author of the *History of Medieval Hindu India* (Vol. II).

A discussion about the origin of the Rajputs is out of place here. But one or two points may be advanced, to enable our readers to form a clear idea as regards the Kṣatriya origin of the Rajputs. First of all, anthropological measurements go to prove that the Rajputs belong to the best Aryan type in India. Secondly, we believe that a sudden conversion or elevation of foreigners cannot possibly convert foreigners both in physical characteristics and in mentality.

(20) *The Gurjara-Pratihāra Empire*.—The origin of the Gurjara-Pratihāras is shrouded in mystery. But whatever might have been their origin (which question must even yet remain an open one), a Gurjara kingdom was already in existence, north of Valabhi, in the VIIth century A.D. when Hsueh Tsang came to India. The first Pratihāra dynasty, claiming descent from the Brahmin Haricandra was probably founded about 550 A.D. and exercised authority over a large tract for about twelve generations. In course of time, feudatory princes of the Pratihāra dynasty established other smaller states. The Pratihāras gradually extended their influence and they had to fight, during the early part of the VIIIth century, the forces of the Arab Governors who, under Junaid Viad, advanced up to Ujjain. But the Arabs were hurled back by a prince of the Pratihāras who ruled in Avantī. The greatness of this family was consolidated by Nāgabhaṭa who flourished during the middle of the VIIIth century A.D.

The Gurjara-Pratihāras and their Struggles.—After Nāgabhaṭa, the family suffered reverses at the time of Devarāja (at the hands of Siluka of the older time) but after him there was a number of powerful rulers. e.g., Vatsarāja, Nāgabhaṭa II, Rāmahadra, Bhoja, (cir. 840 A.D.), and Mahendra Pāla (1st quarter of the XIth century).

(II) About the middle of the VIIIth century A.D. also arose in Eastern India the Pāla Empire⁽²¹⁾ founded by Gopāla who was raised to the throne by the magnates and the people to end a régime of anarchy.

In the height of their power the Pratihāra rulers ruled over a vast empire, which was more or less feudalised. The empire, in the height of its splendour, extended from the borders of the Punjab and Sindh to those of Bengal, and included Magadha for some time. It included the greater part of the Gangetic valley and almost the whole of Central India and Bundelkhand. Guzerat and a portion of the Punjab were in that Empire. Prominent among the feudatories of the Empire were the Guhilot princes, the Cahamānas (whose line was founded by Guvāka) and the Candellās. Kanauj, which had been taken from its local king Cakrāyudha, afterwards became the capital of the Empire.

With its vast extent, great wealth and powerful armies, as is proved by the evidence of Muslim writers and travellers (see Elliot, Vol. D, the Empire lacked consolidation. Bhoja and Mahendrapāla were the greatest rulers of the line and the monarchy did much to arrest the advance of the Arabs of Sindh.

The supremacy of the Pratihāras was short-lived. They had to contend with powerful enemies. The Pālas of Bengal under Dharmapāla and the Rāstrakūṭas of the south were their bitterest enemies, not to speak of the Arabs (or the occasional raids of Kashmir Kings). Vatṣarāja or Nāgabhaṭa II had to fight with both Dharmapāla and the Rāstrakūṭas under Dhruva. But the death of Dhruva and the southern attack on Govinda the Rāstrakūṭa King saved the Pratihāras from ruin. Dharmapāla in the meanwhile advanced up to Kanauj and put Cakrāyudha on the throne. Nāgabhaṭa suffered again from the attack of Govinda III (807-808 A.D.). Bhoja, too, suffered an attack made by Devapāla, but towards the end of Bhoja's reign, the king of Bengal was discomfited while there was no pressure from the Rāstrakūṭas. But about 915 A.D. the Pratihāra Mahipāla suffered a signal reverse at the hand of Indra III, Rāstrakūṭa, but was saved from destruction by the incompetence of Govinda IV. After Mahipāla, the decay of the empire was fast. The Candellās under Dhanga wrested much of the Imperial territories. Gujarat became independent, the Cedis asserted themselves, while the Kachhapaghāṭas became independent near Gwalier. Rājyapāla, the last ruler of Kanauj, suffered an attack from Mahmūd of Ghazni and then died in a war with the Kachhapaghāṭas and the Candellās. The line ended soon afterwards ingloriously.

(21) *The Pālas of Bengal.*—Bengal during the close of the VIIth and the first half of the VIIIth century was divided into a number of small principalities. The Sailas and Khadgas probably divided the country and a large number of petty states existed. By the middle of the VIIIth century (cir. 750 A.D.) the chiefs ended the period of anarchy by electing Gopāla to the throne (cf. Khalsampur plate).

The Pāla dynasty founded by him was a long-lived one and produced eminent rulers and conquerors. Dharmapāla, the son of Gopāla, claimed to have conquered nearly the whole of Northern India, and placed Cakrāyudha on the throne of Kanauj, after

(III) Almost simultaneously, there arose the Rāṣṭrakūṭas⁽²²⁾ who, under Dantidurga (753 A.D.), put an end to the Cālukyas and took their place in the Deccan. But before their downfall, the Cālukyas under Vikramāditya I had almost crushed the political power of the Pallavas, so much so that they sank into insignificance.

defeating the Gurjar Nāgabhaṭa (Khalimpur, I. II and 12). His son Devapāla, seems to have conquered Assam and Kalinga. After Devapāla came Vīrabhapāla, Nārāyaṇapāla, Rājapāla, Gopāla II, Vīrabhapāla, and Mahipāla, who suffered an attack from Rājendra Cola. The kingdom was probably weakened by this and probably rival princes established themselves in western and southern Bengal. Mahipāla was followed by Nayapāla, Vīrabhapāla, Mahipāla II, Surapāla (Manikali Ins.) and Rāmapāla who saved the dynasty from utter ruin and saved it from the revolt of Divyoka who had usurped authority in a large part of the realm.

(22) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*.—They rose to power under Dantidurga, about 753 A.D. and were a dynasty which had long been ruling in the Deccan. Their king, Indra, son of Kṛṣṇa, was defeated by Jayasinha of the earlier Cālukya dynasty, and from that time they were feudatories to the Cālukyas. Dantidurga, who founded the greatness of the line and assumed pompous titles, was deposed by his uncle Kṛṣṇa I. After Kṛṣṇa I, the next great king was Ilkrva who carried on war on both fronts, namely, on the north as well as on the south. He forced the Pallavas to pay a tribute of elephants, while crossing the Vindhya he humbled Vatsarāja.

Govinda III (794-814 A.D.), the greatest monarch of the line, made himself suzerain over the region between the Vindhyas and the Tāṇgabhadra. He also conquered Lāṭa where he made his brother Indrarāja viceroy. After Govinda, who inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pratihāra, Nāgabhaṭa II (cir. 807 or 808 A.D.), the state suffered from internal complications, which checked for a time its conquering activity. Amoghavarṇa had himself pre-occupied by the war with the Eastern Cālukyas. A number of weak princes succeeded him, and the next great king made war on the king of the Colas, on whom had devolved the task of carrying on war with the prominent Deccan Power. Kṛṣṇa III defeated the Cola king Rājashyā at the battle of Takkolam (949 A.D.).

The last king of the dynasty, Karka II, had to fight the Paramaras of Malwa and also the princes of the Cālukya dynasty. When Muḥmed was at the mercy of the northern enemy, the Cālukya warrior Taila restored the older line, and established the Cālukya dynasty at Kalyāni (973 A.D.).

The Cālukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa Duel.—The Rāṣṭrakūṭas as the predominant Deccan power had to fight the Gurjaras in the North, the Colas in the South, and, occasionally, the Eastern Cālukyas (an off-shoot of the older Cālukyas) established by Kubja-Vijayvardhana, brother of Pulakesin II, in the province of Veṅgi. This state lasted till 1070 A.D., and some of its kings fought the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. During the reign of Amoghavarṇa I (815 A.D.) the war between the two countries continued vigorously.

(IV) And a few decades later the place of the Pallavas as the suzerain power in the extreme south was taken by the Colas,⁽²³⁾ who continued to hold a supreme position almost to the eve of

The Later Cālukyas.—In addition to these, local Cālukya princes, who had probably become the vassals of the Rāṣtrakūṭas, were ever ready to assert themselves. The dynasty of Taila also claimed descent from the older line and as soon as it was established, it had to carry on war on the two fronts. Taila (973-997 A.D.), the first king, had to fight Muṇja of Malwa, who after sixteen successful raids lost his life in the 17th attack. The next kings, Satyāśraya, Vikramāditya and Jayasimha, had to fight the Colas. The war was a terrible one and went on with varying successes on both sides. In 1052 A.D. was fought the battle of Koppam in which Cola Rājādhirāja lost his life. Someśvara I (1040-1069 A.D.), who fought at Koppam, took up the cause of the Eastern Cālukya prince Kulottuṅga. He was however defeated at Bezwada and Kudal Sangam and committed suicide.

The war was continued by Kulottuṅga, an heir to the Eastern Cālukyas who ascended the Cola throne. But during Vikramāditya VI's long reign, after the peace with the Colas, the Hoysālas made an attack on the Cālukyas. Vikramāditya VI ruled for a long time (1076-1127). Within thirty years of his death, the Empire broke up and the Kalacuryas usurped authority in a large portion of the Empire, under Vijjala (1156-1167). But the Kalacuryas themselves were weakened by the usurpation of Vasava.

(23) *Tamil India and the Rise of the Cola Power.*—As stated already, in the 1st century A.D. the Colas had risen to power and wealth under able kings like Kārikala the Blackfoot. But this early supremacy was destroyed by various causes and for some time the Ceras rose to power. Very soon, however, they were supplanted by the Pallavas and during their ascendancy the Ceras, Colas and Pāṇḍyas all had to remain content with the subservient position of feudatories.

But the Pallavas as the predominant power of the South had to contend with a number of enemies, viz., the Cālukyas in the North and the Pāṇḍyas in the South and other enemies.

The Pallavas suffered defeat at the hands of Vikramāditya II Cālukya (741) and on the extinction of the Cālukyas, their successors, the Rāṣtrakūṭas inherited the quarrel. Govinda III inflicted a crushing defeat on the Kanchi rulers. In their weakness they were attacked by the Pāṇḍyas under Varaguna (cir. 825), but the Pāṇḍyas themselves suffered defeat.

While this duel was going on, the Colas asserted themselves. The Cola king Vijayālaya recovered Tanjore while his son Aditya Cola defeated the last Pallava Aparājita and laid the foundations of the Cola Empire. The next king Parāntaka (906-953 A.D.) reduced the Pāṇḍyas and invaded Ceylon. But very soon, the Colas took up the fight against the Northern power, the Rāṣtrakūṭas. Rājāditya lost his life at the battle of Takkolam against Kṛṣṇa III (949 A.D.). In 985, Rājārāja ascended the throne and made himself suzerain over a vast empire stretching from Travancore to the Kālīṅga border and including a large part of Mysore. He conquered the Maldives and Laccadives,

the Mussalman conquest of the south.⁽²⁴⁾ As a result of this, four great political powers arose and warred for supremacy keeping under check a number of other kingdoms and feudatories who transferred their allegiance to the more successful conqueror. The mutual hostility of these kept them engaged and prevented them from presenting a common front to the Islamic hordes that continued to knock at the gates of India. The Gurjara-Pratihāras continued to act as a bulwark to the further eastern advance of the Mussalmans who had however the good fortune of having an ally in the Rāṣṭrakūtas.⁽²⁵⁾ Roughly, such a state of things lasted for nearly two centuries. While these struggles were going on,

formed marriage alliance with the Eastern Cālukyas and put down the Pāṇḍyas. He was succeeded by Rājendra Cola, who, not satisfied with a Tamil Empire, advanced against the Pālas (assuming the title of Gaṅgaikopāja) and sent an expedition against the kingdom of Srivijaya in Sumatra. His unfortunate successor lost his life in the battle of Koppam while fighting with the Cālukyas, which work was carried on by his successors.

(24) *Pāṇḍya Revival*.—Vijayālaya's line was then ended by Kulottuṅga (1070-1118). This prince warred on to conquer Kālīṅga, repelled the Cālukyas and fought the Hoysālas. The last powerful ruler was Rājarāja III (1216-1248). After him the Colas declined and the Pāṇḍya Siri-Maravarman became powerful, capturing and burning Tanjore. Jaṭavarman Sundera Pāṇḍya (1251-1275), was a powerful ruler, but Moslem invasion under Malik Kafur brought the kingdom under Sultan Alauddin Khilji (1310 A.D.).

(25) *Decline of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*.—The Gurjara-Pratihāra Empire suffered from decay after the death of Mahendrapāladēva (908 A.D.), who may be regarded as the last great Lord Suzerain of North India. Mahendrapāla was succeeded by Bhoja II and then by Mahipāla, who is called Bājādhirāja of Aryāvarta by the poet Bāṇasekhara. It was probably in his reign that the Moslem traveller Mas'udi visited India. He has left a record of his four great armies each numbering 7,00,000 men. But the Empire received a terrible shock at the hands of Indra III (cir. 916 A.D.). This Rāṣṭrakūta attack weakened the Empire, though it did not crush it. After Mahipāla came Mahendrapāla II, Devapāla (cir. 948), Vijayapāla and Rājapāla the contemporary of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni.

The Pratihāras did very great service to India, by checking the inroads of the Mussalmans of Sindh, and the break-up of their Empire was a great catastrophe. The ambitious and rebellious feudatories of the Empire now took advantage of the weakness of the central power and not only asserted independence, but thought of establishing paramount authority.

on in the North-Western frontier the Kabul state held its own under its Brahmin usurpers till the end of the Xth century and the first quarter of the XIth.

Further Feudal Disintegration.—The middle of the Xth century witnessed great political changes and was signalised by great events which were to change the course of later history. After king Mahipāla or Vināyakapāla, who had succeeded in restoring the fortunes of his family, the Gurjara-Pratihāra monarchy underwent a steady disintegration and the ruler of Kanauj suffered constant attacks from his feudatories, who not only asserted their independence but turned their arms against their late master. Prominent among these new states of Northern India were those ruled over by Rajput princes who made dynastic war and mutual hostility the sole objective of their existence. The country fast moved on the path of catastrophe. The danger of the common enemy who was knocking at the gates could hardly rouse these princes to a sense of duty.

The danger of Islamic invasion became however greater day by day and though adverse political circumstances and the distance of the Indian frontier removed for a time the Arab menace, an offshoot the Samani kingdom ruled by the virile Turki converts was established at Ghazni. It was destined to become the *point d'appui* of the Moslem in his designs against the fertile plains of India. That state passed to the hands of able rulers like Alaptgin, Subuktigin and Mahmud, the last of whom was destined not only to strike terror in Hindustan by his cruel and inhuman raids,

Among these may be counted the Candellas led by Dhaṅga who claimed imperial authority about 964 A.D. (Khujaraho inscription). The Cedi Lakṣmaṇarāja was another such king. The Čālukya Mularāja asserted independence in Gujarat, the Kacchapaghāta established themselves near Gwalior, and the Paramāras asserted themselves as also the Čāhamānas of Sakambhari (see R. C. Majumdar's *Gurjara-Pratihāra*, pp. 76-81).

but to absorb the state of Kabul and Lahore. Islam gained ground every day and the religion of the Prophet spread among the wild hillmen partly by force but more through the excellence of that religion over the debased Buddhism current in those places. The Kabul state under the renowned kings Jayapāla and Ānandapāla fought against Sultan Mahmud, but their weak forces, though occasionally strengthened by contingents of neighbouring rulers, could do nothing against the invaders flushed with zeal and superior in fighting capacity and brilliant generalship.

With the fall of the Shāhī kingdom of Kabul,⁽²⁶⁾ the natural barrier of protection passed to the ever-vigilant Mussalman enemy, who had in Mahmud's lifetime annexed the greater part of the Punjab. Later on, the weak successors of Mahmud found a refuge in this Indian territory.⁽²⁷⁾

From that time, however, the Mussalman conquest of India was a foregone conclusion though a respite of nearly two centuries was granted to the Indian princes of Hindustan, through the

(26) *Fall of the Shāhīs.*—Jayapāla lost Lamghan and the regions to the west of the Indus to Subuktigin. After his death, his son Ānandapāla fought till 1009 or 1010, when he was killed in battle. His son Trilokanapāla carried on the struggle but he was forced to submit. Towards the close of his life, he seems to have lost his kingdom (1021). His successor, the last of the Brāhmapa Sāhis, Bhīmapāla, died in 1025. The greater part of the Punjab including Lahore passed to Mahmud of Ghazni.

(27) *Ghaznīite Sultans of Lahore.*—After the death of Sultan Mahmud, his son Masaud became king. He ruled his father's Empire and appointed a Kazi and a Governor to rule the Punjab. He seems to have also employed Hindu generals and soldiers. His general Nialtiagin carried on raids into Hindu territory to the east but being unfaithful to his master, he was killed. Masaud thought of making conquests in India, but the western part of his empire being attacked by the Salfuka, he returned from India, and while on his way, lost his life. A number of weak kings then sat on the throne of Ghazni. For forty years, the throne was usurped by a slave named Tughril, but afterwards, Mahmud's line was restored. After two Sultans, Ibrahim and Farukhjad who ruled till 1118, the throne passed to Bahram who had a long reign of 41 years. He was a weak prince and during his reign Ghazni was sacked and burnt by the Ghoris. Bahram retired to India and ruled there till his death.

weakness of Mahmud's successors⁽²⁸⁾ and the constant rivalry of the Ghaznivite and the Ghori princes. Northern India remained in the meanwhile a medley of principalities wedded to a policy of eternal hostility and mutual strife. There arose new princes and rival dynasties. But, in this new *maṇḍala* the fighting energies of each state was neutralised by the hostility of its neighbours.

Rajput princes ruled in these states. War for supremacy became the objective of these ambitious princes and the boundaries of each state varied with the success or failure of the ruling prince. Consolidation of authority or the building of a stable empire was beyond the comprehension or genius of these chiefs. War for military glory continued the end and aim of their existence and the age was one of *chivalric anarchy*. States gained ascendancy in turn. Able rulers like Bhoja of Malwa, Karna of Cedi, Madanacandra of Kanauj carried on the eternal struggle which did nothing but weaken the country before the very eyes of the advancing enemy. Of the new Rajput families, the Cāhamāna ruled in Sambhar⁽²⁹⁾

(28) *The Decline and Fall of Ghazni*.—On Bahram's death his son Khasru became king. He lost Ghazni first to the Turks and then to the Ghoris. Khasru had to retire to Lahore where he ruled for seven years. The last prince of the house of Mahmud, Khasru II, was defeated, captured and killed by Shahabuddin Mahomed Ghori (1191 A.D.). Coins of the Ghaznvide Sultans of Lahore have come down to us and some of these bear Sanskrit inscription and are copied from Hindu Shāhi coins.

(29) *The Cāhamāna Kingdom of Sambhara*.—It was founded by one Sāmanta, who and whose immediate successors distinguished themselves in the struggle against the Arabs of Sindh. The Bijolia stone inscription gives us an account of this line. One important king was Guvāka. Vighraharāja was a great ruler and was succeeded by Durlava (973 A.D.—Harsha stone). After him came a number of princes (Govinda, Vākpati, Vijaya, Durlava, Vighraha, Prithvirāja, Ajaipāla, Arnorāja) who consolidated the power of the line. Some of these, like Arnorāja, had to fight not only the Mussalmans but also had to war with the kings of Gujarat (Kumārapāla). Viśādeva was a great soldier, poet and dramatist, who checked and punished the Moslems many times. Viśādeva ruled at least up to 1163. He was followed by a number of weak kings. The last prince of the dynasty was the celebrated warrior Prithvirāja, the ruler of Ajmere and Delhi, who once defeated Shahabuddin Ghori but was ultimately conquered and killed by him (1193 A.D.). Towards the close of the XIIth century, the Cāhamānas barred the way of the Turko-Pathans to India.

and Ajmir, the Paramāra in Malwa,⁽³⁰⁾ the Haihaya in Cedi,⁽³¹⁾ the Candella in Bundelkhand,⁽³²⁾ the Caulukya in Gujarāt,⁽³³⁾

(30) *The Paramāra Kingdom of Malwa*, with its capital at Dhara, became powerful during the latter half of the Xth century. The first king to assume independence was Siyakadeva, who was followed by Vākpatirājadeva, Muṣṭja and Sindhurājadeva. Muṣṭja who fought Tailapa (978-997) was killed by him in battle. Bhoja (1010-1055) was the greatest king of the dynasty. He was a great author, lawyer, poet and writer on various subjects and was the greatest ruler of his time. He fought the Musalmans or Turuṣkas in addition to the adjacent enemy states of Gujarat, the kings of the 2nd Cālukya dynasty of the south, and the Cedis of the east, who were connected with the Cālukyas by marriage. During this struggle Dhara was once occupied by Bhīma of Gujarat and once by Jayasimha Cālukya. Bhoja also fought the Turks. Probably he attacked the rear of Mahmud after the sack of Somnath and sent a contingent to help Anandapāla. After Bhoja, there was disorder in the kingdom and Bhoja's successor Jayasimha was placed on the throne with the aid of Vikramāditya Cālukya. King Udayāditya restored the fortunes of the family and his son Lakṣmapādeva seems to have waged war on all sides. He was followed by Naravarman (1100-1133) and Yaśovarman who suffered defeat at the hands of the Cālukyas and Jayasimha Siddharāja of Gujarat who imprisoned him in a cage. His successor Jayavarman was defeated by Kumārāpāladeva of Gujarat and was decapitated. Other kings ruled after him, namely, Ajaya-Varman, Vindhya-Varman (who recovered much of his ancestral territory from Gujarat and fought the Gujarat kings), Subhaja-Varman, Arjuna-Varman and Devapāla-Varman in whose line the main line of the Paramaras was ended with the attack of Sultan Iltutmish.

(31) *The Haihaya Princes of Cedi* were probably not feudatories to the Gurjara-Pratihāras. From inscriptions we know that the earliest king was Kokkala. After him came Dhavala, Balahara, Yuvarājadeva Lakṣmaṇa, Saṅkaragana (Yuvarāja II) and Kakalla who were followed by Gāṅgoyadeva (who reigned till 1040). He seems to have occupied Benares and fought Bhoja but was worsted. After him came Kapa, who next to Bhoja was the greatest king in Āryāvarta. He conquered many kings, extended his Empire over Trikalīṅga, Behar and a large part of Hindustan. After his long reign (1040-1080) his son Yaśaskarṇa carried on the tradition of his father, ruling till 1123. He was followed by Gayakarṇa, Narasimha-Varman, Jayasimha and Vijayasimha who reigned up to the end of the XIIIth century when the dynasty fell with the attacks of the Musalmans under Shāhabuddin Ghori and his successors in the Delhi Sultanate.

(32) *The Candātreya or Candella Dynasty of Bundelkhand*, with capital at Khajuraho, was founded by a prince named Nannuka (see V. Smith's art. in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII). The early kings were probably feudatories of a greater power, i.e., the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Nannuka was followed by Vākpati, Vijaya, Bahila, Ścīharṇa, Yaśovarman, the last being followed by Dhaṅga, a powerful king who is said to have helped Jayapāla against Subuktigin. He was followed by Gaṇḍa (1000-1023), a contemporary of Mahmud whom he resisted. His son Vidyādhara inflicted a crushing blow on Rājapāla Pratihāra of Kannauj and probably killed him (with the help of the Kachhapaghātas, tributaries to the Candellas, and that of the kings of Malwa and Cedi). Vidyādhara became king

the Gāhaḍavāla in Kanauj,⁽³¹⁾ the Pāla in Magadha, the Śūra, and later on, the Sena ruled in Western Bengal.⁽³²⁾ Himalayan states

and was followed by Devavarman who called himself an independent monarch. Kirtivarman was a contemporary and enemy of Karka, the Cedi king, and the two fought for supremacy. He was followed by Sallakṣmaṇa who warred on Malwa and Cedi. After him came (1110 A.D.) Jayavarman and Prthivivarman (1120-1125). The next king Madanavarman repelled an attack by Siddharāja Jayasimha of Gujarat and humbled the kings of Malwa and Cedi, he himself being a friend of the Gāhaḍavāla king of Kanauj. The last important king of this line was Paramārḍideva (1165-1203). He was warred by the Cāhamāna Prthivīrāja (1162) and again by Kutubuddin who captured the fort of Kālaḥjara. After him, there were three kings but the line had to fight the Turks constantly and sank into insignificance.

(33) *The Chaulukya Dynasty of Gujarat*, with its capital at Anhilwārā, was founded by Mūlarāja (Xth century). The Gujarāt kings had to fight not only the Chālukyas of the South, the Parmāras of Malwa, the Cāhamānas of Saurashtra, but the Arabs of Sindh and later on the Turks. Mūlarāja was succeeded by Cāmupā (997-1010). He defeated and killed Sindhurāja of Malwa. After two unimportant kings, Bhīma I became the ruler (1022-1064). He was a contemporary of Bhoja and Karka Cedi and it was during his reign that Mahmūd of Ghazni raided Somnath. He was followed by Karka (1064-1094). His successor Jayasimha Suddharāja (1094-1143) fought the Arabs in addition to the kings of Malwa and Cedi. Malwa was overrun cruelly, its king was treated barbarously and it was partly occupied. His successor was Kumārāpāla (1143-1173). He subjugated the Gūḍilots and the king of Malwa, fought against the Cedis and was favourably inclined to the Jains. He was succeeded by an incompetent prince who was supplanted by Mūlarāja II (1176-1178). He was a king though a minor and signally defeated Muhammad Ghori. Under his successor Bhīma II (1178-1241) and the next prince, the Bāghelās usurped authority. Four kings of this line, e.g., Viśāladeva, Arjuna, Saraha and Karka ruled till 1303 when the kingdom was conquered by Alauddin Khilji (1303).

(34) *Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj*.—The first important king of the Gāhaḍavāla line of Kanauj was Candradeva (cir. 1080) who conquered Kanauj from the local ruler, and captured Benares and probably Oudh. He expelled the Turks to whom the Pratiharas had submitted and claimed to be the greatest monarch of Āryāvarta after Bhoja Paramāra and Cedi Karka. After him came Madanapāla and next to him Govinda-Candra, who seems to have conquered the Cedis and extended his empire in the east and checked the Turks now established in the Punjab. He ruled from 1114 to 1154 and was followed by Vijayacandra (1154-1170) who claimed a victory over the Turks. Towards the close of his reign, the Cāhamāna Vīgraharāja of Ajmer captured Delhi and made a bid for suzerainty in Āryāvarta. Vijaya's son Jayacandra was the rival of Prthivīrāja, the last Hindu king of Ajmer-Delhi. Jayacandra ruled till 1193 when his kingdom was conquered by Shabuddin Muhammad Ghori.

(35) *Bengal*.—It seems that towards the close of the Pāla period, their power in Bengal gradually decayed and passed to other dynasties. The Śūra dynasty was founded and we have the names of Śūra Kings. Names of other kings and of other dynas-

like Nepal, Chamba, Kangra, Kashmir and Kāmarūpa, became isolated from the influence of the political forces working in Hindustan, though maintaining their independence for some time.

In the Deccan and in the South the same state of affairs subsisted. There too arose new dynasties ruling in various places, e.g., the Yādavas⁽³⁵⁾ of Devagiri in Mahārāṣṭra, the Hoysālas of Dvāra-Samudra,⁽³⁷⁾ (further south) the Kākatiyas of Warangal,⁽³⁸⁾

ties are also forthcoming. But during the XIIth century, the Senas of Lakṣmanāvatī became powerful. The founder of the dynasty was Samantasena, who was followed by Hemantasena, and Vijayasena. The son of the last, Ballālasena, was a powerful king and extended his dominions. Under his son, Lakṣmanasena, the country was invaded by the Turks under Muhammad-i-bin Bakhtiyar but the Senas continued to rule in Eastern Bengal for some time more.

(36) *The Yādavas of Devagiri* claimed descent from a feudatory of the Cālukyas named Dṛḍaprahāra, the ruler of a small kingdom established during the middle of the IXth century A.D. In his family came able feudatory princes like Bhīllama II, Vesugi and Bhīllama III. Bhīllama IV declared his independence and established his capital at Devagiri (1187). His chief enemies were the Hoysāla Yādavas of Dvārasamudra. He was succeeded by Jaitugi and by Sindhana the most powerful king of the line (1210-1247). While the Ghories were conquering Āryāvarta, Sindhana was building up an empire and fighting the king of Gujārāt. The next important king was Rāmacandra (1271-1306) in whose time Alauddin reduced the kingdom to vassalage. Afterwards it was annexed to the Turko-Pathan Empire.

(37) *The Hoysālas of Dvārasamudra* were a Mysorean dynasty claiming descent from one Sāla, who was followed by Vinayāditya (1047-1100). The next great king was Bīṭhadeva, who gave up Jainism and became a Vaiṣṇava (1104-1136) and made himself master of a large southern empire with Dvārasamudra as capital. After him came Narasimha I and Vira Ballāla II (1172-1219) who was consolidating his power against the Yādavas at the time when the Turks were establishing in Hindustan. Narasimha II (1220-1235) defeated the Colas and the Pallavas now sunk into insignificance. He was succeeded by Someśvara (1231-1254), followed by Narasimha III (1254-1291) and Vira Ballāla III (1291-1342), and during the reign of the last, the kingdom passed to the Delhi Turks.

(38) *The Kākatiyas of Warangal* were at first feudatories of the Western Cālukyas. The first important ruler, Tribhuvanamalla Betmarāja, reigned at Hanumakopṇa about 1100 A.D. Prolarāja (1130-1163) established himself firmly and built Warangal. His son was Pratāparudra-Deva who conquered the Yādavas and the king of Orissa. Mahādeva and Gaṇapati were the next great kings. Gaṇapati ruled for 62 years and was a powerful king. After him his daughter Rodrambā ruled the kingdom for 30 years. The last king was Pratāparudra II, in whose time Kaḥur conquered the country. Pratāpa ruled for some time as a vassal and was followed by Kṛṣṇa under whom the kingdom

the kings of Orissa,⁽³⁹⁾ not to mention a host of small principalities and feudatories owing allegiance to the nearest powerful prince of the locality.

In the medley of states, there was neither cohesion nor any political purpose. The princes thought of nothing but eternal war and dynastic hostility. Despotism as they were, everything depended on their pleasure. The people had ceased to have any interest in politics. Religion decayed, the art of war became antiquated, and society stagnant. Nobody thought of the country's interest.

The Mussalman, flushed with victory and fired by his religious fervour, had long bided his time. In the person of Shihābuddin Ghori, the spirit of conquest re-awakened. The ground had already been prepared and after a short struggle, the Hindu military resistance collapsed with the second battle of Tarain and the death of Prthvirāja. The Turko-Afghans carried everything before them. Principalities melted away, armies were annihilated and the plain of Hindustan passed to the hands of the Turki conquerors almost within the space of a decade.

Sudden and sweeping as the tide of conquest was, it failed, however, to break the spirit of the people. The armies of Islam could conquer kingdoms but they could not put an end to Hindu culture. Patriotic Rajput princes and tribes carried on an almost continuous resistance. Many of them took shelter in the hills

became insignificant though it continued, till 1423, fighting the Bahmani Sultans by whom it was annexed.

(39) Orissa had an independent dynasty of its own. The Kōlaris (Somavamsī) ruled for a long time, but later on the Eastern Gāṅgas founded their supremacy under Vajra-hasta I (984-1019). The Colas under Rājendra Cola invaded the country (about 1021), but afterwards the Gāṅgas became supreme. Rājārāja (1068-1078) and Anantavarman Coṭa-gāṅga (1076-1142) were very powerful kings. They were followed by able princes of other lines who maintained their independence till cir. 1565 A.D.

and deserts. The inaccessible South retained its independence for another hundred years, till the military genius of Sultan Alauddin Khilji, seconded by the zeal of Malik Kafur, enabled Islamic armies to penetrate the South. Yet even then the Mussalman could not establish universal rule over India. The Hindu line of resistance, though broken, showed a new front. The war against Islam and Mussalman advance continued all through the centuries till the advent of the European, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter. Successive revivals took place and every time the Hindu made a bid for his lost political power and missed success only through unforeseen causes and circumstances which the historian of causes and events hardly explains accurately.

BOOK X

POLITICS AND PUBLIC LIFE IN MEDIAEVAL HINDU INDIA

From the above summary of Indian political history we can easily sum up the main political tendencies which operated during the whole period from the Hindu resurrection of the IVth century A.D. to the eve of the Mussalman conquest of Hindustan during the close of the XIIth century A.D. These appear to be the following :—

(1) First of all, there was a continued tendency to a further break-up, though we meet with the periodic rise of strong powers like the Pālas and the Pratihāras. Along with this tendency to break up there was a further development of sub-infeudation and the rise of small local dynasties, which transferred their allegiance to the predominant power of the day. This received its culmination in the rise of the Rajputs and their vassal nobility.

(2) Gradual shifting of the centre of political interest from the East to the West, caused partly by the invasion and immigration of foreign races and partly through the establishment of the Islamic power on the border of north-western India.

(3) The disappearance of Republics and Republicanism.

(4) Perpetual dynastic war which wasted the resources of princes and weakened the kingdoms.

(5) Gradual disappearance of the people as an important factor in political life and the rise of regal irresponsibility, which brought with it the practical disappearance of all real checks on

regal power. Taxes came to be multiplied, the King's voice became supreme in the state, though he could not as yet claim legislative authority. This remained as the only real check on royal irresponsibility.

I. The tendency to break up is remarkable and requires no elucidation. With the fall of the Mauryas, the idea of a ruler controlling the whole of India 'up to the seas' almost passed away. As we have seen, India became divided into a number of *littorals*. Early in the IVth century A.D., five such littorals are recognizable, with a paramount power in each, and flanked by feudatory states. These included (a) the Trans-Indus regions, (b) Kashmir and the hills, (c) the Plain of Hindustan, (d) the Deccan, (e) the Tamilakam. In spite of changes of dynasties and the multiplication of new states, these divisions survived as in Harṣa's time, when we have had (a) the Trans-Indus regions under their own kings, (b) Kashmir under its own king, (c) Hindustan under its suzerain monarch, Harṣa, (d) the Deccan under Ālukya Pulakeśi II, and (e) the extreme South under its overlord the Pallava Narasimhavarman.

The reign of Harṣa, politically uneventful in the history of India, is an important landmark. As in Aśoka's case, we find his spirit of pacifism leading to another political catastrophe attended with foreign invasion, disunion and disruption. The idea of an Indian Empire strong enough to chastise the foreign foe is not only almost forgotten, but receives rather a serious condemnation from Bāṇa who holds up the prospect of an ideal India ruled by innumerable princely families. (Harṣa's death was followed by an age of confusion and turmoil, which saw Chinese interference in his kingdom, while hardly before he had closed his eyes, the Mussalmans conquered the Mekran coast and began to lead raids into

India. After a century of such struggles and fightings, two new powers were established in Northern India, namely, the Pratihāras in the West and the Pālas in the East. The Deccan remained under its own suzerain power, though here a struggle went on between the rival dynasties of the Cālukyas and the Rāṣtrakūṭas. In course of time, the Eastern Cālukyas also rose into prominence, and several dynasties, the Somavamśis and Gaṅgas, held sway in the northern part of the Coromandal coastal region. In the extreme south, the Pallavas held suzerain power for a long time but were supplanted by the Colas, the Pāṇḍyas and Ceras remaining under their sway.) In the Trans-Indus region, Sind and Multan passed to the Arabs, but the Shāhiya kingdom, with its capital first at Kabul and later on at Wahind (Udabhānda) under a line of Brahmin rulers, continued to hold out for nearly two more centuries.

With the dawn of the XIth century, we have had a new political condition characterised by a further break-up. The Kabul state was annexed to the Ghazni Empire after it had waged a bitter struggle against Sabuktigin and Sultan Mahmud. At the same time, the Pratihāra monarchy, which had defended the frontiers of India for nearly two centuries under-went decay and dismemberment. Its place was taken not by a single power but by a large number of new states ruled by Rajput dynasties, namely, the state of Ājmere-Sambhara under the Cāhamānas, the state of Kanauj under the Gāhaḍavālas, the state of Malwa under the Paramāras, the state of Gujarat under the Caulukyas, the Cedi state under the Kalacuris, the state of Jejākabhukti under the Candellas. In Eastern India, the Pālas were driven from Bengal, which passed under the Senas. In the South, the Deccan, hitherto dominated by one power, was subdivided into the states

of the Yādavas of Devagiri and the Kākatīyas of Warangal, with a part passing to the Hoysālas of Dvārasamudra. The Colas ceased to exist: their northern territories passed to the Gaṅgas while the Pāṇdyas also asserted themselves for a time.

[This continuous war and the tendency to break up contributed to the multiplication of feudatory families and we reach an overwhelming total towards the close of Hindu independence. Hereditary feudatory lines ruled in districts and divisions and a large part of the territories of a kingdom passed into their hands. Their existence not only weakened the central authority in the kingdoms, but also intensified the magnitude and the bitterness of wars.

It is impossible to make as yet a catalogue of these feudatory families, but their increasing number is apparent from the records which have come to us with perhaps a large number yet to be discovered. Most of these were ruled by princes of a new fighting aristocracy known as the Rajputs. The real history of the rise of the Rajputs, their organisation into thirty-six Kulas and their gradual spread over the greater part of Northern and Central India is yet to be written. Of the principalities in the region of hills, must be mentioned small states like Chamba, Mandi, Suchet or Kot Kangra, which sometimes acknowledged the supremacy of a powerful neighbour but asserted independence whenever opportunities came. New lines come to our view in the plain of Hindustan or in Rajputana. New states arose on the eastern border, and new dynasties arose in Nepal. A Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty established itself in a part of Magadha. Another minor dynasty rose near Badaun, while others arose in regions near about, namely, the Gautamas (near about Fatepur) and the Sengaras of Kanar who were subordinate to the Gāhaḍavālas. A Rāṣṭrakūṭa

dynasty arose with capital at Bijapur and another at Hastikundī. A branch of the Cedis established themselves at Ratnapur, ruling Southern Kośala. Yādava families ruled near Mathurā and Mahāvana. Petty Cāhamāna dynasties arose at Nadul and Brahmapāṭaka with innumerable princelings under them. These as well as minor Paramāra dynasties like those of Candrāvātī or Abu acknowledged the supremacy of the Gujarat princes or other powerful kings. Minor Tomara families in addition to those ruling at Delhi also existed. Bhaṭṭi Rajputs ruled in many places of the Punjab. Kathiawar was parcelled out among the Guhilas, Cudāsamas or Yādavas, the more important Guhila family being that of Mangrol. The Kacchapaghāṭas (originally ruling at Narwar and acknowledging Candella suzerainty) established themselves in the region near about Gwalior, with a branch ruling at Dubhakuṇḍa. These princes parcelled out the country among them and held as well as granted tracts of land on military service. While greater families perished these princelings continued to exist and warred against the enemies of their clan as well as the Mussalmans. To ensure the interest of their families and to command an armed retinue they parcelled out their lands among their kinsmen or the *Kulas*. In course of centuries of warfare, there arose a type of clan-feudalism which still subsists in Rajputana and many of the leading families of mediæval and modern India claim descent from these Rajput princes.

II. (During this period the centre of Indian political activity moved again to the west partly on account of foreign invasions and partly owing to the immigration of races like the Hūṇas, the Jāts and the Gurjaras. In Hindustan, since the days of Harṣa, the seat of reputed imperial power was located at Kanauj. Some-

time afterwards, the pre-eminence of Kanauj passed to Delhi where the Cāhamānas established themselves and fought against the Turco-Afghans under Muhammad Ghori.

✓ *Disappearance of Republics.*—Side by side republics decayed. The Vijayagadh inscription solemnising the victory of a nameless Māhārāja and Mahāsenāpati of the Yaudheyas (G. I. No. 58), is practically the last record of a non-monarchical state, if we except the traditional republican confederation of the Brahmanas of Kerala. According to local tradition the Kerala Brahmins subdivided the land into 64 districts and had it ruled by an elected official and an assembly of 64 chiefs each representing one of these divisions. After a time, there was internal discord, as a result of which power was handed over to the Perumal or local sovereign who assumed royal authority.

With the exception of this we have practically no information about any non-monarchical state or community subsisting in mediæval India. What became of them and why they perished is the question which troubles a historian. At one time non-monarchical states were a political power in the country, but, as we have noticed, they became fewer and fewer and in the age succeeding that of the Samhitās they existed only in the fringe areas or in inaccessible mountainous regions. Even in the age of foreign domination these republics, though few, succeeded in maintaining their existence and resisted their foreign and home enemies. But after the VIth century A.D. they ceased to exist altogether.

In the absence of a well recorded history the chief causes that we can assign to their disappearance are to be sought for in the changed social and political condition of the country. As we have noticed they had always come in conflict with the monarchical

principle and decayed with the rise of monarchical authority.

Indeed the rise of Magadha and Kōśala had led to the destruction of a large number of them even in the Vth century B.C. Magadha absorbed a large number of those states which existed in the lifetime of Buddha, while the Śākya, the kinsmen of Buddha, were destroyed by the tyrannical Virudhava. The despots of these days regarded these non-monarchical tribes as thorns in their own flesh and constantly sought opportunities to destroy them. The desire for the unification of the whole country also brought them face to face with these states. This is apparent from the teachings of the *Arthaśāstra*, which calls upon kings to bring Saṅghas to submission.

But there was another significant and more powerful cause of decay. As time went on and social complexities arose, these non-monarchical states lost the solid foundation on which they once were established. It is needless to point out that in most of these states, a ruling oligarchy had the sole voice in the administration. They thus dominated over a subject population which had no political power. In course of time, the latter gained in strength. Economic necessity made the ruling tribe look to their assistance. The subject populations seem to have multiplied and as they increased in importance, the rule of the oligarchy became something odious to them. The domination of one clan or of few families could hardly be tolerated, and thus it contributed to the weakening of the non-monarchical states. Monarchy, on the other hand, stood on a higher level. The king, however despotic or tyrannical he might have been, could not but recognise the needs of the classes and the castes. Under monarchical rule the castes received not only protection but a recognition of their caste-laws and the customs and usages of their

community. Caste, in later time, took a turn towards a "racial federation," and the castes retaining a certain amount of internal autonomy gladly accepted royal rule which looked to the recognition of their rights and customs as an accepted principle.

The next cause was the internal jealousy between the chiefs and families. Nothing more need be said on this head. The history of the Yādavas proves it. Buddha too warns against mutual jealousy and the crafty monarchist of the IVth century B.C. clearly shows how corporations could be easily destroyed by adding fuel to the fire of jealousy existing between families or individuals.

All these factors contributed to the weakening of the republican clans or tribes. Then, with the weakening of the Gupta power in Hindustan, there began another series of foreign invasions and migrations of trans-frontier peoples to India. In the midst of this turmoil, tribe-leaders or oligarchs were compelled to change their old attitude of local independence and political isolation. Many such turned their energies to greater advantage by allowing themselves to be merged in the new fighting aristocracy and turning dynasts themselves. Instances of such are not wanting; the Licchavis established a dynasty in Nepal, while the Yādavas, so long associated with the non-monarchical principle, established principalities for themselves and one of these ruling families established a considerable empire.

India a Medley of States.—Thus, on the eve of Mussalman invasion India was transformed into a medley of states, owning no suzerain and having no political purpose and the country suffered from the evils of perennial dynastic wars. Its ruling princes were continuously fighting against one another without deigning to think of peacefully

governing their states or respecting the rights of their neighbours. Each state had its enemies on all its flanks with allies in the rear of these enemies. The country suffered from the evils of an unstable political equilibrium. War was the normal objective of princes, war for self-preservation on the part of the weaker kings, and war of aggression for the stronger. Once a war broke out, the commotion was felt throughout the country and princes held themselves in readiness for resisting enemies or coming to the succour of allies. Ambitious conquerors traversed vast distances to impose their suzerainty upon weaker princes. Thus, the Pālas under Dharmapāla advanced as far west as Kanauj, the Pratihāras advanced from western India to the heart of Hindustan, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas traversed the whole of the south and the Deccan to wrest the sovereignty of Kanauj from the Pratihāras. Each state had its enemies on all sides. Thus the Pālas suffered attacks from the east, from the west by the Pratihāras and from the south by the Colas and later on by the Senas. The Pratihāras were similarly assailed on all sides. They were attacked by the Pālas from the east, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the south, by their feudatories from Bundelkhand and the Mussalmans from the west. The Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan were similarly assailed by the Tamil power from the south while they had to resist the attacks of the northern powers. The predominant Tamil powers, the Pallavas and the Colas, were in their turn constantly fighting their northern enemies in addition to their own rebellious vassals.

During the last phase of political existence, the evils of this internecine warfare appear more prominently. Chivalrous and brave as the Rajputs were, their narrow-minded clannish patriotism did nothing but plunge the country into the evils of perennial warfare. Each Rajput clan had its circle of enemies

all round and the attainment of superior position by any ruler was sure to cause a series of attacks on it. Thus, the Paramāras of Malwa waged war on all sides and were attacked in turn by the Cālukyas from the south, the Cedis from the east and the Gujarat Cālukyas from the west. They, in their turn, did the same act of aggression to their neighbours and such wars were always accompanied by acts of cruelty. King Muṇja led 16 expeditions against the Cālukyas, only to be defeated and put to death by the enemy in the last expedition. The Cālukyas of Gujarat warred with tenacity and vigour on all the adjacent states, namely on Malwa and Ajmer. Similarly, the Cāhamānas were waging war on three fronts, namely, against the Cālukyas in the west, against the Candellas, Tomaras and Gāhadavālas in the east, with the Mussalmans on the west. Similar was the case with the Cedis and the Gāhadavālas of Kanauj. In such a state of affairs, the resources of princes and of dynasties were sure to be spent up in course of these internecine wars. The maximum life of a dynasty was not more than two centuries and unless an able or warlike king was succeeded by an efficient prince on his throne a catastrophe was sure to follow. Foreign invaders and rebellious vassals often completed the ruin of great royal lines.

Savagery in Warfare.—The wars of the period were characterised by a savagery and inhumanity which gave the country a foretaste of the brutalities of foreign conquerors later on. In course of these struggles, the laws of war were often forgotten and horrible miseries were inflicted on the unoffending people of the contending states. Populous cities were often plundered with inhumanity or were destroyed with fire and sword. Very few of the capital cities thus escaped destruction by enemies. As instances of these, we may cite the burning of Vātāpi by the Pallavas and the repeated

sacking of Kāñcī by the Cālukyas who dominated the Deccan. We have information on these points from the conquerors themselves, since the princes of this period were not ashamed to proclaim their own brutal exploits. And we may cite the boast of a Rāstrakūṭa king that he had reduced the great city of Kanauj into *Kuśasthalī*. Similarly, the Colas assumed the title of Madhurāntaka to signalise their destruction of the city of Mādura. Another Cola king boasted of having burned Kalyan, the capital of the later Cālukyas. Other capital cities like Mānyakheta, Dhārā or Anhilawarpattana fared no better. The Paramāra Siyaka sacked Malkhed, while Dhārā repeatedly suffered at the hands of the Cālukyas and other enemies. Anhilwara experienced the same fate.

Not to speak of cities, provinces and countries suffered terribly. The sack of Gujarat by Kulacandra became proverbial. The Colas claimed to have burned the Kalinga country (S.I.I. III.79). Vikrama Cola claimed to have burned not only the Kalinga country but also the city of Kāmpili as well as the whole of Rattapaḍī. As to the burning of the Rāstrakūṭa country by Rājendra Cola, we have an account in the Soratur inscription. According to that record, the Cola army numbering 9,00,000 pillaged the whole country slaughtering Brahmanas, women and children and destroyed the modesty of women by forcibly carrying them off. Another Cola record speaks of the destruction of non-combatants while the Hoysāla Viṣṇuvardhana claims to have burned enemy towns and territories (Fleet, D. K. D., p. 496). In course of these savage wars, little consideration was shown to fallen enemies and victors did not hesitate to take the lives of their defeated rivals. Eminent princes of this period like Pulakeśi II, Muñja, Tailapa or Bhoja suffered death at the hands of unrelent-

ing enemies. The story of the cruel indignities heaped upon Muñja and his sad end is almost shocking. His death was avenged by Bhoja who in his turn suffered a cruel death at the hands of the Cālukyas. Sindhurāja was probably killed by Cāmuṇḍa of Gujarat. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa I claims to have put to death some Eastern Cālukya prince while the same boast is made by Jaitrapāla, the Yādava king of Devagiri, who put to death in cold blood the defeated Kākatīya prince Rudradeva. The record of the Colas is worse than shocking. We have repeated mention of the decapitation of the conquered Pāṇḍya king and of other rivals. In some other records belonging to Rājādhirāja and Vīra Rājendra I, we have the account of Mānābharaṇa Pāṇḍya being decapitated while a Kerala prince is described as having been trampled to death under the feet of an elephant. Brutal also is the record of the Gujarat kings and Kumārapāla, supposed to have been a Jain, boasts of having put a conquered king of Malwa in a cage while he had the severed head of another suspended at the gate of his own palace.

Ladies of princely families very often suffered at the hands of the enemies of their family. Thus Harṣa's sister Rājyaśrī was put in chains. The Cola Vīra Rājendra I boasted of having captured and enslaved the wives of Āhavamalla. We have still something worse and Vīra Rājendra boasts of having killed a chief, enslaved the sister and daughter of a conquered prince and cut off the ears and nose of the mother of a defeated enemy. (S. I. I. III, No. 20).

The destruction of sacred places was not unknown. One West Cālukya inscription formally accuses the Cola king of having burnt Jain temples in the Belvola province. The Vaiṣṇavas of the South level similar charges against the Colas,

THE PEOPLE AND THE PROVINCES

The People.—In the midst of this perennial warfare, the people ceased to be an important factor in the political life of the country. They had neither the right nor the voice to control their kings. They became more or less a passive agent in the domain of public administration and their business was to obey their masters, leaving them to mould their destiny. In the big military monarchies of the day, no representative Assemblies existed in which the people could voice their sentiments. The ministers only and the feudatories could speak before the king, but the former depended on the king for advancement while in the case of the latter, their importance depended on their military strength. The priestly classes enjoyed a position of privilege, since the Brāhmaṇa was the sacerdotal order and expounded the law, but even then they worked more to their own interest by living in peace than force their will upon kings. The latter also did their best to protect or reward them.

This condition of abject dependence of the common people was, however, ameliorated to some extent by the excellent system of local autonomy which prevailed in the different provinces of India. Everywhere, the village community flourished with unabated vigour. Like small self-sufficient republics ^{they} they managed their own affairs, adjusted their own socio-economic arrangements and carried on life in spite of wars and invasions. In addition to village communities, the merchants and artisans had their guilds and these often took upon themselves many of the local duties. They managed the affairs of temples, organised poor relief, established endowments for various purposes and did everything in their power to ensure local peace and prosperity.

In course of time, municipal bodies arose in towns of various provinces and these carried on the administration of the localities.

The activity of these bodies often compensated for the neglect or preoccupation of the central authority and these did much to ensure the economic prosperity of the country. But often, the evils of despotic system told upon the people and in extreme cases of continued misrule, they rose either in rebellion or welcomed successful usurpers to end the tyranny of princes, who added to taxes, violated the primary rights of the people or denied justice to their subjects. (In theory the moral right of revolution resided in the people and they chose new rulers to supplant tyrants who had proved themselves incompetent to rule.)

The large number of states which existed in India hardly possessed any permanent boundaries or linguistic or ethnic peculiarities. They varied more or less in extent and population and their prosperity or decline depended on the character and military strength of their rulers. At first, the tribal principle predominated in the states but, gradually, that was substituted by the sovereign authority of a ruling dynasty. From the VIth century B.C., the process of unification was launched by the contemporary rulers of Eastern India. Under the Emperor Aśoka, the unifying movement reached its high watermark but with the disruption of the Empire and the foreign invasion the ideal of an All-India Empire passed away.

After the revival of Hindu political influence, India came to comprise different geographical units, each dominated by one powerful dynasty, keeping under check a number of feudatories. In the midst of perennial war, dynasties changed and feudatories multiplied. But in the midst of this turmoil, it is difficult not to note the ever-growing consciousness of local separatism and

divergences of manners and customs made more defined and reinforced by the growth of the Prākṛit dialects.

Local feeling had been growing ever since the spread of Aryan culture in India, and even in the Dharmasūtras, we find a discrimination between the land of the Aryans, and the land of the outer settlers, together with a denunciation of the men of the fringe areas like Vāṅga, Aṅga, Kāliṅga. At the same time, the great difference in the manners and customs of the North and the South is emphasised. In course of time, local differences were intensified by local influences. The varied degree of foreign domination as well as the growth of the various Prākṛit dialects and Apabhramśas contributed to this local separatism. By the time of Vātsyāyana, the people of different localities came to possess certain peculiarities in social life and mentality and he notes these with a view to emphasising the differences in social and sexual life. Of the localities differentiated on the basis of these peculiarities, the following are prominently mentioned (according to *Deśasālmīya*):—

1. Madhyadeśa—Between Himalaya and Vindhya, up to Prayāga in the East. *Comm.*
2. Bālhika—Uttarāpatha. *Comm.*
3. Land of the Indus Rivers—The Panjab.
4. Avantī—Region about Ujjain and western Malwa. *Comm.*
5. Lāṭa—West of western Malwa.
6. Mālava—Eastern Malwa. *Comm.*
7. Aparānta—Region bordering the western seas. *Comm.*
8. The country of the Ābhiras—Near Srīkaṭṭha and Kurukṣetra.

9. The country of the Nāgarikas—Region about Pāṭaliputra.
10. Kośala and Strīrājya.
11. Andhra—East of the Karpāṭa region. *Comm.*
12. Mahārāṣṭra—Between the Narmadā and Karpāṭa Viṣaya. *Comm.*
13. Drāvida—South of Karpāṭa Viṣaya. *Comm.*
14. Strīrājya—West of Vajravanta country. *Comm.*
15. Vanavasi—East of Kañkapa Viṣaya. *Comm.*
16. Gauḍa—Eastern India.

Coming to a study of the events of Indian political life, we find a considerable element of consciousness in the minds of the people of some localities. The most prominent of such localities are Mahārāṣṭra, Karpāṭa and Tamil India (land of the Drāvidas, Colas and Keralas). Between the Tamil powers (Cola or Pallava) and the power in Mahārāṣṭra there is a feeling of perennial enmity. The Andhras too are on the way to developing a separate ethnic unit under their kings and a similar spirit is discernible in Orissa. The Gauḍas display their consciousness in resisting the supremacy of the Guptas and other Hindustan powers and gradually Prāggyotiṣa is on the way to separation politically. Local separatism is fostered in Nepal and in Kashmir by their local isolation. A similar tendency is noticeable in Gujarat. In the Punjab and in the extreme north-western border region the constant influx of new peoples and foreign invaders tends to give the people of those regions a new turn in their political aspirations. Mālava comes to be regarded as a unit ethnically and geographically by its rulers who take the title of Mālava-Cakravartī. Similar is the feeling in Kaliṅga whose kings take the title of Trikaliṅga-nātha.

As yet, however, this separatism did not give rise to a spirit of what we call nationalism. But the process of separatism was being fast accelerated. The provincial vernaculars were on the way to their evolution and the writers of Nibandhas were noting down the peculiar customs of the different localities. The normal process was, however, far from its culmination when foreign invasions brought a new political condition.

In such a state of affairs, the dynasties remained the more active agents in moulding the destinies of the localities. These dynasties were many and numerous and produced powerful rulers, but none among the latter could seriously think of establishing a real Empire, after the old Mauryan ideal.

As a rule, these dynasties ended with a few generations of powerful rulers and most of them were short-lived, being either swept away by foreign invaders or by rival princely houses. The average life of royal lines hardly exceeded two centuries, the more important of the long-enduring lines being the Guptas, with their branches, the Eastern Cālukyas, the Pālas, the Colas. It was a misfortune that the dynasties of the Cālukyas of Badami (*c.* 550-752), the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (*c.* 752-973) or the Pratihāras (*c.* 750-980) did not subsist more than two centuries. Perhaps, the constant warfare of their kings exhausted the resources and the genius of the family earlier.

The history of the states of India is practically the history of the great dynasties.

II

Kingship

(The supreme authority in all states was vested in the king who took pompous styles and titles to designate his sovereign authority. In theory he was bound to take the advice of his ministers and to consult the opinion of the people. But in reality Hindu kings of this period were irresponsible and their power depended on their own personal qualities as well as on the strength of the army.) The consolidation of the army, maintenance of its proper discipline and the preservation of the loyalty of the military chiefs were of prime concern to the king, since otherwise the king's hold on the throne and the kingdom was bound to be precarious. First of all, without the army, the security of the state could hardly exist inasmuch as, in the contemporary political world, there was hardly any political equilibrium. No prince could rest in peace in his own kingdom, but every moment expected attacks from his powerful neighbours. Likewise, when a king found himself in possession of a strong military force, he considered it beneath his dignity to remain at peace, since a war of conquest was the normal object of a king's life. Once a war broke out, it was bound to cause complications throughout the whole circle of states. The conqueror's allies as well as those of his enemies marshalled their forces and the shock was bound to be felt throughout the country.

(Next to this war against outside enemies, the king had to ensure his own safety by maintaining a strong hold upon his

feudatories, who were ever ready to revolt. Except the smaller feudatories who had no other alternative than to remain content with their limited territories or resources the other feudatories were often bent on creating trouble) and it is well-known to readers of Indian History how powerful monarchies like those of the Guptas or the Pratihāras suffered dismemberment as soon as the king's authority decayed, which occasion was snatched by feudatories to establish independent rule. Weaker feudatories merely remained content with transferring their allegiance to the more powerful conqueror of the day. (In some states feudatories often leagued either to destroy the central power or to put a nominee of their own on the throne. The Sanjan plates (Ep. Ind. XVIII) give us at least two instances of the rising of the chiefs against the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king.) From the Kalasa Ins. (I. A. XIII-19), we know that the revolt of Arikesarin was the cause of Govinda IV's downfall.

His Functions and Duties.—(War and diplomacy thus absorbed the main attention of Indian rulers, and the work of civil administration was generally left to ministers) With the exception of some south Indian kings or the founders of the greatness of the different dynasties, kings generally ceased to be as hard working in the cause of their subjects as in the days of the Arthaśāstra or of the Emperor Aśoka.

Under such circumstances, kings generally divided their time between the life in the camp and the pleasures of regal life. The prominence of camp life is obtainable from the repeated mention of the *Jaya-skandhāvāra* in the inscriptions of the various dynasties and in the case of Bengal kings it is difficult to find out their capital or to decide whether they had any fixed capital city at all.

While in the capital city, kings generally attended their *darbar* and heard law-suits because they were the highest judges in

the realm, according to the principles of Hindu law. But as a rule, towards the close of the Hindu period, their work had been vested in Prāḍvivākas or trained judges and only in rare cases kings exercised the right of appeal. Some Kashmir kings like Candrāpīḍa made themselves prominent by their judicial activity.

Apart from their judicial functions, kings commanded the army, though feudatories or professional military officers headed contingents or led military expeditions. Kings, however, could not put implicit trust in all of them, because, ambitious generals had more often asserted independence or had put an end to the lines of their masters like Puṣyamitra or Vijjala Kalacūrya who usurped the Cālukya throne.

While at rest from military pursuits, kings generally issued their commands to district officers or heads of department or supervised grants of land to individuals or the grant of privileges to communes. They often modified the items of taxation, levied new ones or sometimes repealed those which preyed heavily on the people. Remissions of such taxes were, however, few if any. On the other hand, the items of royal exactions went on increasing day by day as we shall see later on.

Prerogatives of Royalty.—The king's powers and prerogatives were almost unbounded. The supreme head of the executive, the highest judge, the commander-in-chief of his army, the king was also the first man in the state. His person was clothed with moral sanctity and he had a number of legal privileges, which we have already mentioned (Pt. I., p. 301). He was immune from arrest and trial in a law court, his proprietary rights did not suffer from prescriptions and he was the final owner of all goods and chattels lost, as well as of property without heir. He also had the right of claiming hospitality and had the power to requisition supplies for himself and the army. In social matters and caste disputes, later

Hindu kings often interferred and we may mention Ballālasena of Bengal prominently in this connexion.

As regards the making of laws, however, the king had no right or authority. That was left to the law-givers and commentators and in the absence of laws, customs had the authority of laws. Kings however issued edicts to repeal obnoxious customs as we know from the evidence of the *Daśa-kumāra-carita*.

Styles and Titles. (Kings assumed various styles and titles. Generally speaking, a suzerain and independent king assumed the title of *Parama bhallāraka* (or in Kanarese Bhatara, in the south) *Parameśvara* and *Cakravartin*. The other titles usually were *Mahārājādhirāja*, but towards the close of the Hindu period, this title had also been assumed by feudatories of the *Pratihāras*.)

In addition to these, other titles describing the king's allegiance to a particular deity were assumed. Thus the Guptas designated themselves *Parama-bhāgavata*, the Śaka Satraps called themselves *Parama māheśvara*, the Pālas called themselves *Parama-saugata*, while among the Vākāṭakas, some kings called themselves, *Parama-Bhairava-bhaktā*. Of later princes, the Gāhādavālas were designated by themselves, *Parama-māheśvara* while among the *Pratihāras*, we have *Parama-māheśvaras*, *Parama-aiṣṇavas*, *Parama-sauras* and *Parama-śaktibhaktas* as well. The Eastern Cālukyas assumed in addition the title of *Parama-brahmanya*, while the Kadambas, Pallavas and some of the Gaṅgas and other kings assumed the title of *Dharma-mahārāja*. The Gaṅgas and some of the princes of the southern lines assumed the title of *Permarrdi* (Fleet, D. K. D. 303).

Each family assumed in addition other titles designative of power or might. The Gupta kings assumed titles ending in *Āditya* like *Vikramāditya*, *Kramāditya*, *Mahendrāditya*, etc. The

Rāṣṭrakūṭas assumed titles ending in *Varṣa* and *Taṅga* in addition to *Vallabha*, *Srīcallabha* or *Srī-Prṥhivī-Vallabha-narendra*. The names of the Cālukyas of Vātāpi end occasionally in *āditya* and they take the high title of *Srī-Prṥhivī-Vallabha* or merely *Prṥhivī-vallabha*. Thus Kṛṣṇa I was *Akālavarṣa* and *Subhatuṅga*, Dhruva was *Kalirallabha* and *Nirupama*, Govinda III was *Prabhūtararṣa*, *Jagattuṅga*, *Janarallabha*, as well as *Srī-Prṥhivī-callabha* and *Srī-vallabha-narendradeva*, etc. Amoghavarṣa was *Nṛpatuṅga*, Śarva, Atiśayadhabala, Mahārāja-Ṣaunda. Kṛṣṇa II was *Akālavarṣa* and *Subhatuṅga*, Govinda IV was *Nṛpatuṅga* and *Prabhūtararṣa* and *Hiranayararṣa*. Kṛṣṇa III was not only designated by the usual titles but was a *parama-māheśvara*, *Akālavarṣa*, *Samastabhuvanāśraya*, *Kandharapuravarādhiṣvara*.

The later Cālukyas of Kalyan generally assumed titles ending in *Malla* in addition to other such. Thus, Taila II called himself *Samastabhuvanāśraya*, *Srī-prṥhivīvallabha*, *Satyāśrayakulatīlaka*, *Cālukyabhūṣana* and *Bhujabalacakravartin*. The eastern Cālukya kings assumed names ending in *Siddhi* (*Vīṣamasiddhi*, *Rṥtasiddhi*, *Vijayasiddhi*, etc.) and called themselves *Parama-brahmanya*.

The Kalacurya Bijjala took the titles of *Kalacurya-cakravartin* or *Kalacurya-bhujabalacakravartin* in addition to *Samastabhuvanāśraya* and *Srīprṥhivīballava*. His successor Somideva called himself *Rayamurāri* and *Bhujabalamalla*. The Hoysālas took the additional title of *Hoysāla-Cakravartin* and *Yādava-Cakravartin* in addition to *Samastabhuvanāśraya* and *Srīprṥhivīballava*. Some princes took the title *Niṣanka-Cakravartin*; the Yādavas of Devagiri called themselves *Dvāravatīparadhiṣvara* in addition to *Samastabhuvanāśraya* and *Srīprithivīballava*.

The Pratiharas called themselves *Hayapati* while some kings of Bengal, as well as many of Kalinga were known as *Gajapati*. The Gāhaḍavalas of Kanauj and the Cedis of Haihaya, later on

assumed the triple title of Hayapati, Gajapati and Narapati. The Yādava Sinhāna called himself "Mahodaya-prauḍha-pratāpa Cakravartin." In the south, the Colas assumed pompous titles like *Tribhuvanacakravartin* while princes like Vīra-rājendra added to it epithets like Sakalabhuvanaśraya, Śrīmedinī-vallabha, Pāṇḍya-kulātanka, etc. Among them there was the custom of taking the title Parakesarivarman and Rājakesarivarman alternately. The Orissa and Cedi kings called themselves *Tri-kalinganātha* while some of the Paramāra princes assumed the title of Mālava-Cakravartin. Samudragupta was called Sarva-rajocchettā.

Individual princes assumed peculiar titles showing their learning, military exploits or other attainments. Thus Govinda-Candra called himself Vividha-vicāravācaspati. Some of the Colas called themselves Panditas. Kumarpāla prided himself on his conquest of Arnorāja. Govinda Rāṣṭrakūṭa calls himself Sāhasāṅka, Ratṭakandarpa, Nṛpati-Trinetra. The Colas called themselves Madhurāntakas and sometimes Simhalāntaka. Narasimhavārman Pallava called himself *Valapī-konda* while Rajendra Cola called himself *Gangai-konda* (E. I. XVIII, No. 4). The innumerable names of the Pallava king Rājasinha are found in Kāñcīpuram temple inscription (S. I. I., I pp. 14—18).

Emblems and Crests.—The different families had their distinctive banners, crests or emblems, in addition to the ordinary insignia of royalty namely, the white umbrella, the crown, the throne, the royal coach, the fan (vyajana) and the chowri (cāmara).

Thus the Guptas had the *Garuda* as their banner. The seal of the Valabhi princes was the bull. The boar was the distinctive emblem of the Cālukyas of Badami who had also the Pālidvaja banner, the sign of Gaṅgā and Yamunā and the Dhakkā drum,

which they obtained by advancing to the north (I. A. IX P. 129, Fleet D. K. D. P. 368). While the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had the Pāli-dvaja banner and the Garuḍa seal (*mudrā*) and the Oka Ketu (bird ensign). (See Sirier Ins. D. K. D. P. 402). The Seunas or Yādavas had a standard bearing the golden Garuḍa. The Kalacuryas had the flag with the figure of a golden bull and the bull seal (Rice 78). The Raṭṭas of Saundatti had the elephant crest and the Garuḍa banner. The emblem of the conqueror Yaśodharman was the *aulikara* (*aulikara-lāñchana*), (see G. I. P. 151), meaning either the sun or the moon. The Maukhari seals contain a bull walking to the left with two attendants. In the south, the flag of the Bāṇas displayed a black buck and their crest was a bull. The Pāla records contain a peculiar Buddhist representation.

The emblem of the Colas was the tiger. The Kalacuryas carried the golden bull banner (*Suvarna-vṛṣabha-dhvaja*) and the Pamaruka heralded them (D. K. D., p. 469). The banner of the Kadambas was the monkey (*sākhā-cara-narendra-dhvaja*) but they had the lion crest (*siṃha-lāñchana*) as well as peculiar musical instruments. As regards the Pallavas, the Kurram plates bear the usual Pallava seal of the sitting bull. (See also Baikunṭha-perumal Ins. S. I. 1. IV). Their other emblems were the *Khaṭṭvāṅga* and the *Samudraghoṣa* drum (Fleet D. K. D., p. 319). The Vinhukadaduti Hāritiputra Sātakarpi had as his emblem a five-hooded cobra (Fleet D. K. D. I., I. A. XIV, p. 331). The Gaṅgas of Talkad had the rutting elephant as their banner while their crest was the *picchadhvaja* or feather-bunch (Rice, p. 30. D. K. D., p. 299). The Nalas had the three-flag emblem (XIX, No. 17). The emblem of the Hoysālas was the figure of a man killing a tiger while their seal contained the representation of a dead tiger with a rod. Some of the Kākatīya records contain a seal

with representation of the sun, the crescent, the boar and the cow. The Sindas of Sindavādi had a blue flag (*Nīladhvaja*) with the tiger and the deer crest (Rice, p. 147). Some other branches had the tiger crest and hooded snake banner. Another southern dynasty had the banner of snakes (E. I. XIX, No. 29). The Senavaras had the serpent flag and the lion crest. The emblem of the Pāṇḍyas was the twin fish. The Sendrakas had the elephant emblem though they called themselves *Bhujagendra* family. The Guttas of Guttal had the lion crest and the fig tree and Garuḍa banner. The Yādavas of Devagiri had (in addition to the Garuḍa banner and the Garuḍa seal) sometimes the *Hanumat* crest. Some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had on their seal the god Śiva. The Paramāras had the Garuḍa emblem, while the Cāhamānas had on their coins the figure of a horseman. The Cedis of Ratnapura had the *Gajalakshmī* as their seal. The Candella plates contain the figure of Lakṣmī.

Private Income.—To maintain their dignity, kings had ample revenues arising out of various sources which differed in the different provinces.

They seem to have in addition their own *demesnes* or *Srabhogas*, which supplemented their personal income. Out of these, grants were made to queens or royal princes as we find in the Karnāṭa inscriptions.

In those days there was no distinction between state income and the income of the king as was the case in mediaeval Europe. The revenue of the state was the king's revenue and he was the best judge in matters of expenditure. The amount of expenditure on the different heads cannot be ascertained. The Śukranīti, however, makes an attempt to lay down the amount to be spent on the king's own household.

Private Life.—The private life of kings except when on military expeditions was one of unrestrained luxury. They were generally speaking polygamous and the evils of polygamy proved a source of trouble to them as well as to the state. The large number of wives had their separate establishments and the queens quarrelled for precedence, for royal favour and for the respective claims of their children to the throne. The Sanskrit dramas give a fine picture of the life of these polygamous kings while innumerable stray verses speak of the anxiety or embarrassment of princes to satisfy their rival queens*. We have inscriptional evidence proving the general acceptance of polygamy by princes. Thus Candragupta II had two wives (Dhruvadevī and Kuveranāgā). Govinda-Candra of Kanauj had at least five queens (Nayanakelidevī, Kumāradevī, Vasanta, Gosaladevī and Dalpanadevī). The Cālukya Smeśvara I had three queens, while Vikramāditya VI had six, *e.g.*, Savaladevī, Lakṣmi, Jakkola, Candala and Malluyama (D. K. D., p. 438). A Cola king had three, another six queens. The Hoysāla Ballāla I married the three daughters of a Daṇḍanāyaka. The Hoysāla Viṣṇuvardhana had many wives. We have also records of more numerous wives. One record (E. I. II) speaks of the Cedi king Gāṅgeyadeva's 100 wives committing *sati* after his death while Hoysāla Narasiṃha I had 384 wives (Rice, pp. 101-102).

The married wives of kings generally bore the high title of Mahādevī, but when this title came to be assumed by the wives of feudatories, the superior queens assumed the title of *Paramabhattachārikā*. (See Fleet G. I., p. 16 note). Among the Colas, queens were designated by titles showing their grade. In the south, chief queens assumed title designating their rank. In Kārṇāṭa, the chief Cālukya queens are designated *Piriyarasi* or *Agramahāmahisi* and their custom was followed by the Hoysālas

(D. K. D., p. 502). A queen of the Hoysālā Viṣṇuwardhana, Santala-devī, is called *Piriyarasi* and *Savata-gandha-hastī*, i.e., a rutting elephant towards ill-mannered co-wives. Many of them seem to have considerable influence on their husbands. Suggala-devī, queen of Jayasimha II, Cālukya, had her husband converted to Śaivism (D. K. D., p. 435). A Pāṇḍya queen converted her husband Sundara Pāṇḍya to Śaivism (V. Smith, Oxford H. 214). Queens enjoyed territories, villages and *agrahāras* and ruled districts (D. K. D., pp. 448—449). We have many such instances from south Indian history. Thus, the queen of Gaṅga Butuga ruled Kurgal and exercised conjoint sovereign authority. Someśvara I had two wives, Mailāladevī and Ketāladevī, who governed territories. His daughter Akkādevī was also an amazon of great exploits (Sudi Plates, E. I. XV). Vikramāditya VI had no less than six wives (Fleet D. K. D., p. 448) and some of them had fiefs or *agrahāras* granted to them as *aṅga-bhoga*. Vikrama's daughter Mailāla was a heroine and a ruler of fiefs (Narenda Ins. E. I. XIVIII). In the case of Kumāradevī, the Licchavi Queen of Candragupta I, her name or figure was on the coinage. In Kashmir, Queen Sūryamatī, wife of King Ananta, often assisted her husband. Two queens of Madanapāla of Kanauj transacted business and their names appear on several records. Vīra-Vallāla II associated his chief wife (Padmala-mahādevī) in the government. Many of the queens distinguished themselves by their love of learning and by grants of land to Brahmins and monks. In many instances, queens professed creeds different from those of their husbands. We have one such instance in Gāhadavāla history. The queen of Govinda-Candra, Kumāradevī was a patron of Jains while her husband was a śaivite (Sarnath Ins., E. I. IX). Another queen of Govinda-Candra was a patron of Buddhism (Basantadevī).

Patronage of Learning.—Many of the kings of this period distinguished themselves as patrons of learning. Samudragupta as well as many of the Guptas were poets themselves and patrons of learning. The Andhra Hāla was not only the author of the *Gāthāsaptasati* but also of the *Kātantra* grammar. Some of the Valabhi princes prided themselves upon their learning in the various branches. Harṣa was a poet and dramatist, being the author of *Nāgānanda* and *Ratnāvalī*. The Pallavas plumed themselves upon their devotion to learning and one at least, Mahendravarman, was the author of a work on painting and on music and of several dramas. The Gaṅga Sivamāra was well-versed in many sciences and wrote a work on elephants. Among the Cālukyas of Kalyāna, Vikramāditya VI was himself a man of learning and the patron of Vijñāneśvara, and under the patronage of Someśvara III was composed the celebrated encyclopædia *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi*. Several Cola kings were patrons of learning and some of them took the title of Paṇḍita. The Pratihāra Mahīpāla was the patron of Rājaśekhara. Lalitāditya of Kashmir was the patron of Bhavabhūti. Bhoja of Dhārā distinguished himself equally as a poet, philosopher and writer on various subjects, being the author of the *Yuktikalpataru* and a large number of commentaries on different branches of philosophy as well as on many sciences. Viśāla-deva Cāhamāna was a dramatist. Karṇa Cedi was a patron of learning and the author of the *Harakeli* drama. The Caṇḍella Kīrtivarman was the patron of Kṛṣṇa-miśra, the author of the *Prabodha-Candrodaya*. Paramārdin of the same family distinguished himself by his patronage of learning. In Gujarat, Jāya-Sinha Siddharāja as well as Kumāra-pāla were great patrons of learning, and under them flourished the Jain poet, philosopher and lexicographer Hemacandra. In Bengal, both Ballālasena and Lakṣmanasena were patrons of learning and authors of great

works. The Gāliadavāla Govinda-Candra was a patron of learning and took the epithet of *Viridha-Vicāra-Vidyā-Vācaspati*. In the south, Jaitrapāla Yādava prided himself upon his learning while Rāmacandra was the patron of Hemādri, the author of the *Caturvarga-Cintāmaṇi*. Great kings of the different dynasties were great builders and patrons of art and religion. The Cālukyas patronised the building of Ajanta while Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa built the Ellora caves. The Pallava Mahendravarman was credited with the building of the Seven Pagodas. Princes also became patrons of religious orders and particular sects.

Queens and royal princesses often proved themselves patrons of learning and of religious teachers.

Insecurity.—The polygamous autoerats of the period had always to take precautions for their own safety as well as for their thrones. Dramas like the *Mudrārākṣasa*, biographical works like the *Harṣacarita* and historical works like the *Rājataranginī* give us an insight into the insecurity of the lives of kings, and the precautions they had to take. The *Harṣacarita* like the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* contains the stock list of kings killed by their own relatives or assassinated at the instance of their enemies. (See H. C., Ch. VI). ↓

Within the historical period we have more than one instance of kings losing their lives or thrones through their own unguardedness. Consequently, kings protected themselves in all possible ways. Large numbers of spies in various garbs existed as before, while some of the dramas speak in clear terms of the female guards recruited from Yavanī women. Kings took particular care against poisoning and all writers on *Nīti* text-books devote chapters on the examination of food intended for the king. One Hindu king sent two Cakora birds to Mahmud of Ghazni and the gift was appreciated. Murders, assassinations and depositions of princes

were common as we shall see very soon, though very few details have been preserved in the inscriptions and records which merely glorify victors but are more often silent on their misdeeds. In Kashmir alone, we have a picture of the real state of affairs preserved by the versatile pen of Kalhana, and the picture we get from it is too vivid to be imaginary. The state of affairs was not far removed from that which gained ground under the Turco-Afghans. Whenever the king was weak or a minor or given to dissipation, power passed either to favourites or to women. Sometimes, ministers usurped authority or the feudatories raised their heads; sometimes, the soldiery put an end to the life of the king and sometimes kings suffered death at the hands of ambitious sons or wives. Sometimes tyrants were deposed at the instance of their rivals and more often these rivals strengthened their hands by gaining popular support.

Comprehensive accounts are, unfortunately, lacking but from what we have, instances of murders of kings by ambitious ministers, revolted subjects or the soldiery are frequent. In Gujarat, Kumārapāla's nephew, King Ajayapāla, was killed by a sentry of his. In Kashmir, three tyrannical rulers, namely, Śankaravarman, Cakravarman and Harṣa, were killed by their subjects. The Queen Sugandhā was deposed and put to death by the soldiery, the *ekāṅgas*. Kalhana preserves the records of others killed by witchcraft and poisoning. King Harirāja was murdered by a general Tuṅga. Pārtha, an ex-king of Kashmir, was put to death by assassins employed by his son king Unmattāvanti, who glorified the murder of his father (R. T. V., pp. 432—435) and rewarded the culprits. King Utkarṣa committed suicide.

Retirement.—Living in such a state of insecurity, kings often followed the old rule of retirement and in some cases, they put an end to themselves, being tired of constant war. Not to speak

of traditions about Śūdraka's self-immolation, accounts have been preserved of such retirements and voluntary deaths. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva Nirupama thought of abdicating in favour of his son Govinda III (E. H. D., p. 49, also kavi grant). In Kashmir, Kuvalayapīḍa, as well as King Ananta and Sūryamatī retired leaving Kalaśa on the throne. The Cedi Gāṅgeya-deva retired in his old age to Prayāga where he died, while the Candella Dhaṅga either died at Prayāga or drowned himself. According to the Jodhpur Ins. (E. I. XVIII, No. 12), Jhoṭa and Bhillāditya retired in old age after crowning their sons. Similarly, Someśvara I of Kalyāna, sick of life and suffering from malignant fever, drowned himself in the Tuṅgabhadra, and according to many authorities, Vijjala, the Kalacurya usurper, abdicated in favour of his son. The last Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra starved himself to death after the loss of his throne. Vira-Vallāla II also retired after placing his son Narasimha on the throne (K. & M. Rice, p. 104). Several Caulukya princes of Gujarat became ascetics.

Succession.—In an age of personal rule and polygamous princes, the order of succession was hardly regulated, though the principle of Hindu law of primogeniture and heirs male still remained strong. To obviate difficulties and to remove chances of disputed succession, the princes of the Gupta dynasty often followed the practice of selecting the heir from amongst their many sons. Thus, Samudragupta was selected by Candragupta I while Candragupta II was chosen by his father to the exclusion of his other brothers, according to his inscription. The practice was good for whenever there was no such selection, dynastic troubles arose and weakened the dynasty. Such troubles were not rare in Hindu history as can be gathered from the inscriptions and other records. Another important practice was the inauguration and appointment of a royal prince as Yuvarāja and we find that among

the Pallavas, Yuva-mahārājas are expressly mentioned in the inscriptions. In spite of these precautions we have repeated instances of wars of succession, in the history of almost all the prominent royal houses that exercised authority in India or in the different localities. Many historians have recently discovered such a dynastic trouble among the Guptas. According to a recent paper by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Candragupta II deposed Rāmagupta and became king after marrying his wife. The case of Skandagupta and Puragupta though not clear is another instance of dynastic quarrel. From inscriptions we know for certain that the great Pulakesi II had himself ascended the throne after defeating and killing his own uncle Maṅgaleśa (or his heir?). Among the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, again, dynastic troubles were more numerous. According to Fleet, Kṛṣṇa, the second of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings had assumed the royal power after setting aside and probably killing his nephew, Dantidurga (or his heir?), the founder of the greatness of the house, who had taken to evil ways (Fleet D. K. D., p. 391; E. I. VI, p. 168). Other princes were also deposed, namely, the sensual Govinda II was set aside by his brother Dhruva (Deoli Grant, I. A. VI, p. 62). Govinda III similarly displaced his elder brother, while Amoghavarṣa was deposed by Govinda IV. The charitable and amorous Govinda IV was himself set aside by his uncle Baddiga or Amoghavarṣa II. Among the Vākāṭakas, Narendrasena probably gained the throne by deposing his cousin.

Among the later Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa, we have similar instances, the most prominent being the deposition of Someśvara II by his brother Vikramāditya VI, the hero of Bilhana's poem Vikramāṅka-carita.

Among the Pallavas, there were similar dynastic wars. The death of Parameśvaravarman II the last prince of the Simhaviṣṇu line (C. 715 A.D.) was followed by a period of war and

anarchy at the end of which Nandi-varman II, a cousin of the last king, became successful and ruled (715-775). In the history of the southern Gaṅgas, Ereyappa's son Rāchamalla was defeated and killed by his younger brother Būtuga who got support from the Rāṣtrakūṭas.

Among the eastern Cālukyas, we have repeated instances of such depositions, usurpations and dynastic troubles. Thus, a record of the Eastern Cālukyas (I. A. XII, pp. 91-96) speaks of the deposition of a minor Vijayāditya; from other records (*see* S. I. I. Vol. I), we know of the expulsion of Kokkili by his elder brother, and of Tāḍapa by Vikramāditya after a reign of one month. This Vikrama ruled for eleven months. His successor Yuddhamalla was displaced by another. After some more princes, there was a long anarchy in the kingdom.

Among the Yādavas of Devagiri, Bhīllama (1187-1191) seems to have ascended the throne after setting aside his nephew Ballāla and Rāmacandra seems to have become king setting aside Amaṇa. Among the Cālukyas of Gujarat we have an instance of disputes for succession, after the death of Jayasimha Siddharāja and before the accession of Kumārapāla. In the Cāhamāna records, we find Viśāladeva's minor son displaced by Prithvibhaṭa or Prithvirāja II. Even parricide was not unknown, since we have the murder of the Cāhamāna Ānā by his son, Jagadeva. The latter was set aside by his brother, Viśāladeva, the great conqueror.

In Kashmir we have also innumerable instances of dynastic disputes, usurpations and fights among rivals, in which queens, ministers and even the royal guards, the *Tantrins* and *Ekāṅgas*, as well as the *Ḍāmaras*, take a prominent part. Thus, after the deposition of Pārtha, there was a war for the throne which lasted for a long time and rival princes fought with the help of *Ekāṅgas*.

King Harṣa revolted against his father. In Bengal, there are similar instances, and many scholars think that Madanapāla ascended the throne by deposing Gopāla II. Rāmapāla probably displaced Surapāla.

Changes of succession or exclusion.—We have already referred to changes of succession at the instance of powerful kings, who often selected younger but abler sons to the exclusion of their eldest sons. The selection of Samudragupta and of Candragupta II by their fathers have already been alluded to. Other more important instances are furnished by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records and those of the Cālukyas of Vādami. The great Pulakeśi II seems to have chosen his favourite son Vikramāditya I as king to the exclusion of the eldest Candrāditya, and from the *Manne* records (see *Rice Mysore and Coorg*, p. 69), we know that Dhruva Dhārāvārṣa Srivallabha selected his son Govinda III as the heir to the throne, putting his eldest son Kāmbharasa, in charge of the Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000. This led to succession disputes in which a confederacy of 12 kings fought with Govinda III. But the latter attained success. The Cālukya (Kalyāṇa) Someśvara I similarly preferred his younger son Vikramāditya VI who gained the throne by deposing his elder brother.

Division of the Empire.—Empires and kingdoms were often divided at the instance of princes who wished to provide for their brothers and younger sons. We have many such instances. Thus, under Pulakeśi II, his brother Kubja-Viṣṇu-Vardhana received in perpetuity the sovereignty of Veṅgi, which remained under the Eastern Cālukyas for a long time. Another important instance was the creation of Lāṭa into a separate principality for a younger branch of the royal family both under the Cālukyas and under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Vikramāditya, the son and successor of Pulakeśi, gave Lāṭa to his younger brother (B. E. H. D., p. 42).

Similarly, Govinda III assigned Lāṭa to his younger brother Indra. (See Kavi Plate, I. A. V.; Baroda Grant, etc.). Sometimes states were divided between the rival brothers. Thus the Kalacuryas of Kalyana, Āhavamalla and Sankama divided the kingdom (Fleet D. K. D., pp. 488—489) and similarly, on the death of Nārasimha II, his two sons, Narasimha III and Rāmanātha divided the Hoysāla kingdom in 1254 (Rice, p. 106).

Usurpations of the Throne.—Under such circumstances, internal revolts and occasional usurpations of the throne were common, whenever the king became weak or lost the confidence and love of his great officers and feudatories. We have attempted to give a list of important instances of dynastic disputes. But in addition we have instances of usurpations by outsiders, or officials who set aside the royal line and founded dynasties of their own.

In addition to the well known instances of Puṣyamitra and Kāpva Vāsudeva, we have the usurpation of Magadha throne by an ambitious minister on the death of Harṣa. According to some, there was an usurpation of the Pallava throne (710 A.D.) by Nandivarman, who was distantly related to Parameśvara Varman II.

We have also the usurpation of the throne of the later Cālukyas by Vijjala Kalacurya and of his throne after his death in its turn by the minister Vāsava, the founder of the Lingayats. In Bengal and Magadha, there is the well known usurpation of the Pāla power (though temporarily) by the Kaivarta leaders Bhīma and Divyoka. Later on, in Gujarat there was the usurpation of the throne of the Cāpotkaṭas by Mūlarāja, the sister's son of the last Cāpotkaṭa King. This led to the establishment of the Caulukyas of Anhilwara and after a considerable period of Caulukya rule, there was the usurpation of the authority of the

Gujarat Caulukyās by the Bāghelas, Lavanaprasāda and Virādhavala after the feudatories had practically renounced the authority of Bhima II.

In the history of Kashmir we have many such instances of usurpations. Towards the close of Hindu rule, there was a long continued struggle between two rival princes one of whom, a usurper, introduced Islam and put his son under a Mussalman. This last named, Shah Mir, made himself the first Mussalman king of the country marrying the widow of the last Hindu ruler. But that princess Koṭadevi committed suicide on the night of her marriage.

Independence of Feudatories and Ministers.—Ministers and feudatories often assumed supreme power and asserted independence in suitable localities. We have innumerable instances of such. Of feudatory families, the Senāpatis of Valabhi raised themselves to supreme power. The Yādavas and Hoysālas, the Colas and later on the Pāṇḍyas proclaimed their independence on the weakness of their suzerains. Similarly, in northern India, the weakness of the Pratihāras led to the independence of the Cāhamānas, the Candēllas and later on of some of their feudatories.

In eastern India, in the time of Kumārpala a minister of his, Vaidyadeva, laid the foundation of his independence in the Bhukti of Prāgjyotiṣapura where he had been sent out as governor.

Regency.—On the death of a king, if a minor succeeded to the throne, regents generally managed the affairs of the state. Sometimes the uncles of a minor ruled as when the boy Brhaspati became ruler of Kashmir (R. T., pp. 663—672). Sometimes ministers became all powerful as in Kashmir (R. T., pp. 710—711), where Camkuma (IV. p. 361) invoked the people to elect a sovereign after Lalitāditya's death. There were other powerful

ministers who became regents in Kashmir but many of them were too selfish to look to their own personal interests.

Queen Regents.—Queens dowager often managed the affairs of the state during the minority or weakness of their children. Such instances are numerous in Hindu history and we have innumerable epigraphic records to prove it. Thus we have in Andhra history, the instances of Queen Nayanikā (of Nanaghat) and Bālaśrī. Similarly, one Vākāṭaka record tells us of the regency of a Queen Prabhāvatīguptā, daughter of Candragupta II during the minority of her son (E. I. XV, Poona Plate). At Kanauj after the Maukhari Grahavarman's death Rājyasrī seems to have acted as regent.

Later on, in Gujarat we find Queen Naikidevī, daughter of a Kadamba king, acting as regent during the minority of her son Bāla Mūlarāja and she was capable enough to expel the Mussalmans who had invaded Gujarat. She also acted as regent during the minority of Bhima II. The Cedi Queen Alhandevī is supposed by some to have acted as regent for some time for her son Narasimha-Varman.

In the Gāhaḍavāla history, we find two queens Rālha-devi and Prthivīśrīkā exercising some influence, during a period when king Madanapāladeva was ill or absent on a foreign expedition (I. A. XVIII, pp. 11—15, E. I. II, p. 359, etc.).

In Kashmir history we find many queens acting as regents in addition to the traditional Yaśomatī who was placed on the throne *enceinte* by Vasudeva Kṛṣṇa. Of the queens who acted as regents, were Sugandhā, Bappaṭadevi, Diddā and Srīlekhā. This Diddā at length ascended the throne and towards the close of her reign made Saṃgrāmarāja king. Similarly the last Hindu ruler of Kashmir was Koṭadevī (widow of Udayana) who put an end to her life on the night of her marriage with Shah Mir, the Mussalman

usurper. (For a brief summary see R. C. Kak's article in *Journal of Indian History*, 1926).

Queens Regnant.—As there was no bar to female succession, princesses often ascended the throne on the failure of male issues and we have more than one instance of such. In the Kākatīya annals, we find Queen Rudrambā acting as regent and probably acting as queen-regnant for some time.

In addition to Rudrambā, we have at least one important instance of a queen-regnant namely, Daṇḍimahādevī who calls herself Parameśvarī and Paramabhaṭṭārikā in her inscriptions (Ep. Ind. VI).

(*Accession.*—On the death of a king, his successor was proclaimed without lapse of time. Why and how this practice arose is difficult to say. But, it had a good political effect in removing the evils of a vacant throne. We have very little of inscriptional evidence but the Rājanītiprakāśa (Vīramitrodaya) quotes a significant passage from the Viṣṇudharmottara (V. M., p. 61, Benares Edition).)

मृते राज्ञि न कालस्य नियमोऽत्र विधीयते ।

तत्रास्य स्नपनं कार्यं विधिवत्तिलमर्घपैः ॥

वोषयित्वा जयं चास्य साम्बत्सरपुरोहितौ ।

अन्यासनोपविष्टस्य दर्शयेतां जनं शनैः ॥

Coronation Ceremonial.—Then after finding out a proper and auspicious day, the coronation took place. The absence of auspicious moments or internal troubles often delayed the coronation ceremony for months and sometimes years as in the case of Aśoka Maurya who was crowned four years after his accession to the throne.

The later coronation ritual was a long and elaborate process and comprised rites which had been handed down from Vedic times,

as well as ceremonies which had come into vogue in subsequent periods. The ceremony consisted of:—

- (1) The proper purification of the king by oblations to fire, ritual baths, touch with varieties of earth and the dispelling of all evils by the sacred herbs by the priests, with a recital of the great *varṣas*, the mountains and rivers and with invocations to the various Vedic and Paurāṇic gods and goddesses and the recital of the great kings of the past.
- (2) Consolidation and vesting of universal sovereign authority with Vedic hymns and rites of purification namely Rik. (X. 173) and Yajus (IX. 22) mantras after making the king take his seat on the tiger skin.
- (3) Sprinkling of the water of rivers and seas on the king's head by men and women (chaste and with children) of all castes including Śūdras.
- (4) Administration of the old Aitareya oath at the instance of the priest.
- (5) Solemn invocation and the enumeration of duties by the priests and ministers.

A complete account has been preserved in the *Vīramitrodaya* which quotes from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the Rīg-vidhāna and the Viṣṇu-dharmottara. It is curious to note that the *Vīramitrodaya* which preserves the old ritual, quotes the Vedic coronation hymns and prominently mentions the royal oath, which reminded the king of his duty to the priesthood and the people. The mention of this invocation reminding the king of his duties is also significant, inasmuch as it shows that the Hindus of a later period entertained the same ideas as to the duties of a king as their Vedic ancestors.—*Cf.*

तिष्ठन् प्रस्यङ्मुखो ब्रूयाज्जयत्वं पृथिवीमिमाम् ।

धर्मस्ते निखिलो राजन् वर्धतां पालय प्रजाः ॥

वर्धस्व च श्रियै पुष्टौ जयायाभ्युदयाय च ।

राजानः सन्तु ते गोत्रे ततोऽप्रतिग्रथं जपेत् ॥

The coronation of a new king was associated with the release of prisoners and possibly with the freedom of debtors.

Lapse of Heirs.—When the king ceased to have heirs of his body, he along with his ministers chose a scion to fill the throne. But when the royal family was extinct, the magnates and the people of the country took upon themselves the duty of electing a new king, either a distant scion or a stranger. This shows that in theory the right of electing a king resided with the people. We have inscriptional evidences showing instances of kings claiming the throne by popular choice. Even when a prince won his throne by his own might he strengthened his claims by the fiction of a popular election. As instances of such, we may cite the examples of Rudradāman who claims to have been elected to kingship by men of all the castes, Gopāla who claims to have been elected by the people to end the evils of *Mātsya-nyāya*, Nandivarman Pallavamalla who during the anarchy following the death of Parameśvaravarman II proceeded to Kāñcī and was elected by the feudatory princes, the merchants' guild and by the Mūlaprakṛtis (Vaikunṭha-Perumal inscription, S. I. I., p. 359; I. A. XVIII, No. 14). We have innumerable examples from Kashmir history. There, according to Kalhan, (II. 5) ministers put Pratāpāditya on the throne after the expulsion of Andha-Yudhiṣṭhira.

Again, when king Jayendra died without heirs, Sandhimat (Ārya-rāja) ascended the throne on the request of citizens (II-80-118). On his abdication, Meghavāhana was elected

by the subjects. Sugandhā also ruled the country at the bidding of her subjects (V. 243). On the deposition of Unmattāvanti, Yaśaskara was made king by the people in the meeting of the Brahmin Assembly. (R. T. V., Nos. 469—475).

Average type of Hindu Kings.—The average type of a Hindu king of this period is not far removed from that elsewhere under an autocratic regime. The majority of them merely thought of carrying the system which they found existing. A prince who was strong enough to protect himself thought of enlarging his kingdom by subjugating his weaker neighbours. India produced great conquerors and fighters during the greater part of the period and in this connexion may be mentioned Samudragupta, Candragupta II, Harṣa and Dharmapāla, Yaśodharman, Bhoja and Mahendrapāla in Hindustan, Pravarasena and Harisena, Vākātaka, Pulakesi II, Cālukya, Govinda III and Dhruva Rāṣṭrakūta, and Vikramāditya VI, Cālukya of the Deccan, the Pallava Narsinhavarman, Rājendra and Rāja-Rāja Colas of the South. Immediately on the eve of Mussalman conquest, there were such warring kings like Bhoja Paramāra, Karṇa Cedi, Bhīma, Karṇa, Jayasīṃha and Kumārapāla Caulukyās of Gujarat, Dhaṅga and Gaṇḍa Caṇḍellas, Govindacandra, Gāhadavāla, Viśāla-deva and Prthvīrāja Cāhamāna, not to speak of a host of others whose inscriptions are replete with their boasts of conquests.

But with all these warlike exploits, the country did not progress. Peace was unknown to India and a stable political equilibrium was absolutely wanting. Very few princes refrained from wars of aggression and a generation or two of military activity led only to a sudden collapse or relapse into anarchy and disorder arising out of the imbecility of a monarch or his addiction to a life of dissipation. A continuous political existence of a dynasty with unabated vigour or normal progress was a thing almost un-

known and a period of conquering activity followed by anarchy and disintegration was the main political phenomenon which characterised the monarchies of the period. In the face of anarchy or foreign invasions, dynasties like that of the Guptas arose. The power of such a dynasty was consolidated by two or three generations of able and warlike princes, but hardly had the consolidation been complete, when a foreign invasion, the attack of a neighbour or a dynastic quarrel weakened the ruling line. The evils of such invasions and dynastic quarrels have been narrated already and they were more numerous than is often supposed.

The people gradually lost all political significance and everything depended on the will and character of monarchs or their trusted advisers. Weak and tyrannical princes like Mahipala II or Govinda IV often brought ruin on their families and ministers or feudatories often usurped royal power or set up nominees on the throne.

Able and warlike princes were not rare, but most of them devoted themselves to wars and conquests. Of these princes, many were distinguished by literary patronage, charity to Brahmins or liberality to religion but the rest remained mere figure heads, while not a few of them devoted their time to luxury or dissipation.

The history of Kashmir supplies informations which enable us to form our opinion as to the nature and character of the Hindu rulers of the time. That country produced conquerors like Lalitāditya, Jayāpīḍa or Śankarvarman but very few kind-hearted and just administrators devoted to their subjects like Candrāpīḍa, Kuvalayāditya or Yaśaskara, Ananta or his queen Suryamatī or Uccala whose deaths the subjects could deplore. But as regards the rest, the evidence of history is almost shocking. The tyrants, even excepting the foreigner Mihirgula, are too many to relate and their records are too dark for any age or any clime. Some like Śankara-

varman or Harṣa distinguished themselves by their fiscal oppression, by their disregard for morality and their plunder of temples. Others like Cakravarman, Unmattāvanti, Kalaśa or Harṣa devoted their attention to carnal pleasures and transgressed all limits of decency or human decorum by inhuman murders, or incest and fornication of the worst type. Unmattāvanti, justly so called, delighted in stabbing women to death, ripping the wombs of pregnant women and cutting off the limbs of workmen (R. T. V., 414—448). To the credit of Harṣa, we have not only the spoliation of the subject, the systematic plunder of temples under specially appointed officials but incest with his own sisters and even with step-mothers.

Such misgovernment only brought ruin on the country. The tyranny of a king sometimes made subjects rise in rebellion or encouraged the soldiery or the nobles to have their own way. Goaded into rebellion, subjects sometimes put an end to the power of such tyrants and they were put to death. Of such unfortunate tyrants may be mentioned Śaṅkaravarman (R. T. V., 210—211, 218—219), Cakravarman (V., 406—413), Harṣa (VII., 1606—1724), in addition to Queen Sugandhā (V., 250). Bhīmagupta was put to death by Diddā (VI., 332), while a good many like Candrāpīḍa and Tārāpīḍa were poisoned, though described as being killed by witchcraft (IV., 124). The soldiery, the *tantrins* sometimes usurped power and set up their nominees on the throne (R. T. V., 266—277).

The record of Kashmir kings is thus a sad tale of inhuman cruelty and misgovernment. But throughout the rest of India probably such a state of affairs did not exist.

Elsewhere, there was a strong public opinion restraining a tyrant from committing enormities and even in Kashmir, we have repeated protests by subjects as well as by the assemblies of Brahmins. These latter on three or four occasions assembled to protest against tyranny and even elected kings when the throne was vacant. Many kings prided themselves upon their literary patronage, kind treatment of subjects and kindness to religious orders. Not a few kings prided themselves upon their being the father or mother of the people as we shall see in a subsequent chapter.

For advice or consultation, as well as for the discharge of the duties of various departments, kings had to employ a large number of ministers and officials who carried on the functions of central government. As the kings of those days were engaged in constant fighting, much depended on the activity and energy of these ministers. Ministers helped their masters by their advice and counsel though during this period, there existed no Mantripariṣat, in an organised form as under the Mauryas.

Ministers or advisers forming the "Central Executive Body" were either selected from learned Brahmins well trained in the Arthaśāstra and the nīti literature, or were selected from the near relatives and dependents of the king. The names of the high officers were not the same in different states. The titles and designations often varied. The inscriptions do not always furnish full informations.

Generally speaking, the chief officials forming the Central Executive Body were—

- (a) the Mantrinaḥ (for deliberation and advice),
- (b) the Amātyas (carrying on civil administration),
- (c) Mahāsāndhivigrahika or minister for war and peace (modern foreign minister),
- (d) Mahā-Pratihāra (in charge of the defence of the capital),
- (e) Mahā-Senāpati (Commander-in-Chief),

- (f) Mahākṣapāṭalika or Mahākaraṇika (keeper of records),
- (g) Mahā-bhāṇḍāgārika or Koṣādhyakṣa (Treasurer),
- ✓(h) Mahādharma-dhikārin (Chief Judge or Judicial officer),
- (i) Mudrādhyakṣa (keeper of royal seals) in addition to Purohitas, Dharmādihikārin, heads of departments of assessment, collection and expenditure, the chief feudatories, trusted army leaders and other officials.

Of the higher officials employed by kings, the Mantrins, Amātyas or Sacivas and the Sāndhivigrahikas enjoyed a higher status. Mantrinaḥ or Mahāmantrin gave advice on general policy. Amātyas were more often given military and executive authority. The Sāndhivigrahikas attained a high position because in those days of constant warfare their advice was constantly sought by kings. The Pratihāra was in charge of the royal capital and had military functions. The Senāpati led the army. The Bhāṇḍāgārika or Koṣādhyakṣa was in charge of the treasury.

In some states, the highest adviser was called Mantrin or Mahā-mantrin. Occasionally, Purohitas or Dharmādhyakṣas exercised great influence on kings. The advice of able queens and princes as well as of the Sāmantas was often sought for by kings.

In times of stress, during the king's illness or when the king was away on the battlefield, ministers had to carry on the administration. We have instances of such regencies, though regencies more often went to queens or

queens-dowagers during the minority of princes. In the time of Harṣa, we find Bhaṇḍi and the ministers carrying on government at the time of Prabhākara-vardhana's death. Under Madanapāladeva of Kanauj we find a similar exercise of authority by ministers along with the Heir-apparent and the Queen. In the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, we have many instances of Mantrins acting as real rulers or regents during a minority or under a weak prince. Powerful ministers often became king-makers. Thus Khaṅkha raised Durlabha-vardhana, the founder of the Karkoṭa dynasty, to the throne, on the death of Bālāditya. Again on the death of Lalitāditya, the minister Camkuṇa was instrumental in raising Kuvalayāpīḍa on the throne (IV., 362). Again towards the close of Karkoṭa rule, ministers like Uṭpala and Ratna practically ruled the kingdom and the minister Śūra raised Avantivarman on the throne (R. T. IV., 715—716). On the death of this prince, the Pratihāra Ratnavardhana made Śankaravarman king (R. T. V., 128). On his death, the minister suppressed the news (V., 223—224) and made Gopālavarman king (V., 228). Unmattāvanti was made king by Sarvaṭa and other ministers. Later on Phalguṇa the Sarvādhikṛta (VI., 198) and later still Naravāhaṇa became the real rulers of the kingdom. Some of these men were upright and honest but not a few like Prabhākaradeva or Tuṅga the Khaśa (VI., 318—320, etc.), tried to consolidate personal power in league with queens or party factions.

Some Great Ministers.—The inscriptions are full of references to ministers and royal officers who attained high rank, through ability or loyalty to the dynasty.

Thus during the Gupta period we may mention Sāndhivigrahika Harisena (who also was a Mahādaṇḍanāyaka and Kumārāmātya) who served his master Samudragupta and composed the Allahabad praśasti. Another such high dignitary under the Guptas was Śāva or Virasena the Sāndhivigrahika under Chandragupta II. Under Skandagupta and Kumāragupta there were also many such high dignitaries.

Under the Vakāṭakas, there were also important officials enjoying positions of honour and trust. Many are the names that occur at the end of inscriptions as writers or Dūtakas. But of these, one name, that of the Brahmin Hastibhoja, is important (A. S. W. I. IV.).

Among the ministers of the eastern or north Indian kingdoms, we find many men of outstanding merit. Prominent among them were Garga, Darbhapāni, Someśvara Misra, Kedāra and Gurava Misra under the Pālas (Badal. Ins. E. I. II, pp. 160—167). Prajāpati Nandi was the Sāndhivigrahika of Rāmapāla. Vaidyadeva was one of the ministers of the last Pāla king Kumārapāla. Under the Kanauj king, Govinda-candra, we find his Sāndhivigrahika Lakṣmīdhara who composed the Vyāvahāra-Kalpataru occupying a high position. Halāyudha under Lakṣmaṇasena was the Dharmādhyakṣa. Under the Yādavas of Devagiri, the well-known writer and scholar Hemādri occupied a very high position as Mahāmantrin. Under the Candellaṣ (Mau. Ins., Ep. I., I No. 25), there was the celebrated Sivanāga. The minister Vatsarāja under Kīrtivarman captured Devagaḍh, while under the Cedis there was a line of important Brahmin ministers. In Mālwa

under Vindhyavarman, the poet Bilhana was Sāndhivīgrahika (Luard & Lele, p. 37). Similarly Muñja had an able minister in Rudrāditya. In Gujarat under Kumārapāla, there was the Mahāmātya Bahadadeva. Under Jayasinha Siddharāja there was the Mahāmātya Aśvaka while Dadaka was the keeper of seals. Under the Baghela Śaraṅgadeva there was the Mahāmātya Sāndhivīgrahika Madhusudana.

The names of the ministers of the great Cālukyas of Vātapi and Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers are not always given in the inscriptions. One inscription (I. A. VI., p. 28) mentions the Sāndhivīgrahika Rāmapunyavallava under Vikramāditya I. Under the Cālukya rulers of the Deccan (Kalyāṇa) there were men of high position and high sounding titles combining many functions and offices. Under Someśvara II we have officials like Mahāpradhāna, Heri-Sāndhivīgrahika, Manevergade Udayāditya and Someśvarabhaṭṭa. Under Vikramāditya VI, we had the high official, Mahāpradhāna, Banasaveggade and Daṇḍanāyaka Anantapālayya (who ruled the Banavāsi 12,000, Bevola 300, and Purigere 300, and managed the *Pannaya tax* of the 7½ lac country, (in A.D. 1102—03) and a subordinate Daṇḍanāyaka Govindarasa managed the *Mel-vatteya-Vaddaravulj*, *Eradubilkode* and *Peajunka* taxes (D. K. D., 429). Another important official and chief uniting many offices was Mahāpradhāna, Antaḥ-purādhyakṣa, Herilāṭasāndhivīgrahika, Manevergade and Daṇḍanāyaka Bhivanaya. (On his behalf the Mahāpradhāna Daṇḍanāyaka Padmanavyya was ruling the Vanavāsi 12,000. Later on, the Daṇḍanāyaka Govindarasa was promoted to the rank of Mahāpradhāna, Mahādaṇḍa-

nāyaka and Mahāsāmantādhipati. Other officials were Mahā-Sāndhivigrahin and Mahāpradhāna Banasavegade and Accpañcayadhiṣṭhāyaka Bammarasa and Mahāpradhāna Kannada-Sāndhivigrahin Sri-patīyārāsa. Under Jagadekamalla, we have a Mahāpradhāna, Senādhipati, Kannada-Sāndhivigrahin Hiriya-Daṇḍanāyaka, Bammānāyaka who got the higher title of Heri-Lāta-Kannala-Sāndhivigrahika, Māhāsāmanta and Manevergade. Under Someśvara, Vijjala Kalacūrya ruled all the provinces and later became king by usurping the throne. Under his son, an official Bolikeya Kesimayya was called Sāndhi-bhattara-niyogādhiṣṭhāyaka, Mahāpradhāna Sarvādhikari, Mahāpasārīta Sunka-pannāyādadhīṣṭhāyaka and Kannada-herilāla-Sāndhivigrahin. Other officials had titles like Pradhāna, Hiriya-daṇḍanāyaka, Hattabova, Sunkavegade, etc. Under Sankama, an official Lakṣmīdevyā had the additional title of Lalakhandeya-karādhiṣṭhāyaka; another Sovanayya has the title of Sarvādhikārin, another had the title of Bhāttara-niyogādhiṣṭhāyaka.

Under the Hoysāla Viṣṇuvardhana, there was the important official Mahāpradhāna Hiriya-daṇḍanāyaka Gaṅgarāja. Under Narasinha I there was the Mahāpradhāna, Sarvādhikari Hiriya-bhāṇḍāri Halla. Another, Vīraballāla had the title of Parama Viśvāsin.

Under the Yādavas of Devagiri, we have the officials of Bhillama bearing titles of Mahāpradhāna, Bāhāttara-niyogādhipati, Paṭṭasahanādhipati, etc., all these having been apparently borrowed from the Kalyān Cālukyas. Under Sinhana we find an official styled Mahāpradhāna, Sarvādhikārin, Paramaviśvāsin, Mayidevapaṇḍita. Officers

with these titles ruled provinces like Konkana, Kaṇṇāṭa, etc. (D. K. D., p. 524). Under Kṛṣṇa, we find an official Malla bearing the title of *Sarvādhikārin* and *Amātya*, the royal guru the Rājarājaguru Someśvara-Bhaṭṭa and the Mahāmātya Mahāpradhāna Chaundrāja. Hemādri was one of the ministers and had the title of *Mahāmantrin* serving under Mahādeva and Rāmadeva. The other important officers were Mahāpradhāna Acyutanāyaka and Maneya-Samasta-sainyādhipati Saluva Tikkamadeva.

Under the Hoysālas, the high officials had almost all these titles, *Mahāpradhāna*, *Samasta-Bāhattara-niyogādhipati*, *Hiriyadaṇḍanāyaka*, etc. A Kākatiya minister Deva-rāja under Gaṇapatideva is eulogised in an inscription (E. I. XIX, p. 41).

In the absence of details or careful interpretation of these terms, it is difficult to generalise as to how the different departments were managed. Broadly speaking the ministers had no collective responsibility. Each one had his separate office and department. Ministers of revenue and collection department kept records of details and made forecasts of income and expenditure. Ministers like Darbhāpāni were highly honoured as we know from the Badal Inscription (E. I., II, pp. 160—167), the king offering them seats and asking for advice. But under tyrannical kings their position was insecure. Upright ministers sometimes resigned their appointments when kings rejected their counsels. But sometimes tyrannical kings put them to trouble, cast them to prison or even put them to death. Sometimes they fought amongst themselves and suffered at the hand of rivals. Thus according to Kalhana, Diddā

dismissed Phalguna but recalled him (VII, 516). The minister Vijja and his friends were cast into prison by king Kalaśa and in his place Vāmana was made *Sarvādhikārin*. The all-powerful Tuṅga had to be removed and killed (VII., 84). Again Kalhana preserves the account of a righteous minister's resignation (VII., 601—603). The tyrannical Harṣa put his father's ministers to death (VII., 887—892). Ministers on the contrary usurped authority whenever there was any opportunity and scrupled not to murder kings. Such instances are very common.

Heredity.—Very often important offices passed from father to son, and we have instances in the inscriptions of hereditary ministerial families. Thus Śāva the minister of Candragupta II speaks of his holding the office of *Sāndhivigrahika* as passing by hereditary descent (*anvaya-prāptasācīvyavyāpṛta-sāndhivigrahaḥ*. Udayagiri Ins.). A Vākāṭaka inscription gives the line of the minister Hastibhoja (A.S.W.I., IV, p. 623). The Pāla inscription of Badal mentions the four generations of Brahmin ministers (Garga to Gurava). The Mau inscription of the Candellas (Ep. I, No. 25), gives the line of the minister Śivanāga while another inscription (Ep. I, VI) gives the history of a line of Brahmin Prime Ministers under the Cedis. Another Candella inscription of Bhojavarman gives us the genealogy of a Kāyastha official (E.I., I).

Heredity, however, was not the chief principle and we have instances of elevations of men of merit from humble situations.

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICIALS AND DIVISIONS.

↓ The rise of the monarchies of the Resurrection marked the growth of a new type of administration. So far as Northern India is concerned, the records of the Gupta kings are of great interest to us, since, with the rise of the Guptas, a new type of administration was established and this administration exercised the greatest influence on all subsequent monarchies that arose in Northern India, especially in the eastern part of it. The leading features of this are noticeable in the Gupta records, where we find a machinery of government, in which almost all the lower offices and officials of the Maurya period were maintained while the higher executive underwent a great modification. Thus, we find the following minor offices and official grades:—

Grāmikas.—Officers in charge of a village. They were village headmen, with duties corresponding to those of the *Grāmika* of the *Arthaśāstra*.

Mahattaras.—Officers in charge of account of villages.

Agrahārikas.—Officers controlling *agrahāras*, or men enjoying *agrahāra* or land granted by king.

Gaulmikas.—Lit., in charge of *gulmas* or pickets in woods and forests. This office corresponded to that of *gulmādhyakṣa* of the *Arthaśāstra*.

Saulkikas.—Officials for the collection of *śulka* or tolls on articles of trade like the *Śulkādhyakṣa* of the *Arthaśāstra*.

Ayuktakas.—Minor officials corresponding to the *yūtas* of the Aśoka inscriptions and the *yuktas* of the *Arthaśāstra*.

Daṇḍikas or *Daṇḍapāśikas*.—Minor criminal officials under the Guptas. Lit., in charge of Daṇḍa, punishment or the rod of punishment.

Other minor officials were the *Tālavātakas* or village accountants, *Cauroddharaṇikas* or officers for capturing thieves, *Diviras* or accountants or clerks.

The new type of administration, the innumerable grants of land and the multiplication of minor taxes contributed to the rise of new classes of minor officials, e.g. the *Kāyasthas* and the *Pustapālas*, who kept accounts and records. The earliest functions of the *Kāyasthas* are not known but we find them occupying an important position in the law courts, as in the *Mṛcchakatika* or in the *Smṛti* of Yājñavalkya and his successors. The *Kāyasthas* are also prominently mentioned in the Damodarpur inscriptions. The evidence of the *Smṛtis* shows that they were looked down upon by the people on account of their exactions in the king's name. They were also in charge of accounts and collections. Their unpopularity is well-marked in the *Rājataranṅinī*. They did not, however, form a separate caste as yet.

Below these were the *Gaṇakas*, *Lekhakas* and the menial grades of the *Cāṭas* and *Bhaṭas*.

These were the minor officials employed in all local areas. Above them, were the officials ruling the higher and lower administrative divisions, together with military commanders and their subordinates.

Central Executive Body.—Highest of all were the great officials who constituted the central executive body. The more important officials were the following, who were

divided into two grades, the higher being designated by the additions of the prefix *mahā* to their title.

The *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* (and *Sāndhivigrahika*).—Officer in charge of war and peace. This officer seems to have enjoyed the highest position in many states. Probably, the business of this dignitary was to maintain relations with vassals and feudatories as well as with rival princes or even enemies.

Mahākṣapātālika.—In charge of the *akṣapātala* or the record office. The importance of this office was due to innumerable land-grants and the rise of a host of feudatories.

Mahāpratīhāra (and *Pratīhāra*).—Lit., official in charge of the royal gate, camp or city. His exact functions are not known inasmuch as the inscriptions give us no details while later writers are almost silent. Probably, he exercised both military and civil functions, and all communications passed through him.

Mahādaṇḍanāyaka (and *Daṇḍanāyaka*).—He was probably an army leader. *Daṇḍa* meant the army. He might have also been a criminal magistrate.

Bālādhikṛta.—In charge of a section of the army. Lit., *bala*, army.

Sarvādhyaṁkṣa.—A general superintendent. In some localities of India there was an office of *Sarvādhikṛta* and the holder of this office was a sort of chief minister.

Rājasthānīya.—Was probably a representative of the king. The meaning is not clear. He might have been a judge. In the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* we have references to the *Rājasthānīya* office.

Dhruvādhikaraṇika.—According to Bühler (note in

the Gupta Inscriptions) this official seems to have been in charge of ascertaining the royal share of produce. (For Bühler's views, see G. I. P.).

Amātya.—The real significance of this office during the Gupta or post-Gupta period is not known. Probably the *Amātyas* came to be entrusted with civil administration and revenue collection.

Provincial Administration.—The administration of the provinces was carried on partly by governors appointed by the king and partly by the feudatories who ruled their respective principalities and were often hereditary. Compared with the extent of territory under feudatories, the territory under the direct rule of the Guptas was not very considerable. Probably, this did not include the territory beyond Magadha and the Gangetic valley, to which, later on, under Candragupta II, the province of Surāṣṭra was added.

Administrative Divisions.—So far as the provinces under the direct royal rule were concerned, they comprised only Magadha and the Gangetic valley, where the policy of uprooting defeated kings had prevailed.

The chief divisions were *Deśa* or *Rāṣṭra* and *Viṣaya*, with the minor divisions of *Grāma* and *Nagara*. This was the division which prevailed in the West, while in the East, we have had the highest division of *Bhukti* subdivided into *Maṇḍala* and *Viṣaya*, with the lowest unit of villages. This *Bhukti* division survived in the East under the Pālas, Senas, as well as under Harṣa, as we shall see very soon. From the inscriptions, we find a large number of well-defined *Bhuktis*.

Under the Guptas, the big provinces were designated as *Rāṣṭras* or *Deśas*, though the term *Deśa* was sometimes used in a different sense. In one inscription of Skandagupta (Girnar), we hear of the *Goptr* being appointed to rule the different *Deśas*. In the same inscription we find mention of *Sukulideśa*. *Viṣaya* was probably a subdivision, though it was often of considerable extent. Thus, Antarvedi or the big tract between the Ganges and the Jumna was ruled by a *Viṣayapati* Sarvanāga under Skandagupta. Probably, this prince belonged to the Nāga family who were once the sovereigns of a vast tract near Mathurā and Padmāvati. (Indore Copper Plate Inscription).

In addition to the *Viṣaya-patis* there were the *Uparikas* and the *Bhogikas*. The meaning of both these words is rather uncertain. But we have references to the *Uparikas* in the Khoh copper plates as well as in the Damodarpur copper plates. In the Khoh copper plates of Mahārājas Sarvanātha and Jayanātha, we find an *Uparika* Dikṣita (G. I., 123—124) Sarvadatta who is the *dūtaka*. Another Khoh copper plate mentions (134), the *Uparika* Matrśiva. Elsewhere, we have mention of *Uparikas* in the Damodarpur plates where, in connection with land grants, the names of the following *Uparikas* occur:—

(1) *Uparika* Cirātadatta ruling under Kumāragupta in Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti. (Plate I and Plate II).

(2) Mahārāja Brahmadatta ruling in Puṇḍravardhana under Śrī Budhagupta.

(3) Mahārāja Jayadatta in Puṇḍravardhana ruling under Mahārājadhirāja Budhagupta.

(4) Mahārāja (name missing) in Puṇḍravardhana in the year 214.

From these mentions we may regard the *Uparikas* as having been provincial governors, and at least in the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti the office had become hereditary probably on the weakness of the Guptas. The meaning of the word is not clear, but it will not be out of place to regard *Uparikas* as executive officials and governors of a higher grade ruling over provinces.

A similar difficulty arises in the case of the *Bhogikas* and the status of the officials of that title. The *Bhogikas* are repeatedly referred to in connection with the land grants recorded in the Khoh plates (see G.I., 100, 105, 109, 120, 124, 129 and 134). But in connection with the holders of this title, it is apparent that the *Bhogika* is almost hereditary. Thus Sūryadatta's father and grandfather are designated as *Bhogika* (100 and 105), and similar is the case with *Gaṅgakṛtti* and *Gallu* and *Manoratha* whose father and grandfather are called *Bhogika* (p. 120). The status of the *Bhogika* is apparent from the fact that some of the *Bhogikas* are also designated as *Amātyas* and some of them came to hold the higher office of *Sāndhivigrahika*. Under the circumstances we may take the *Bhogikas* as having been Governors or in some cases feudal lords of smaller territorial divisions called *Bhogas*.

The term *Kumārāmatya* presents greater difficulty. It was translated by Fleet as meaning a "counsellor to the prince." But this meaning is absolutely untenable, when we refer to the various designations and examine the duties of the *Kumāramātyas*. Prominent among the

Kumārāmātyas was the celebrated Hariṣena, the chief minister of Samudragupta, who was also designated *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and *Sāndhivigrahika*. We have another *Kumārāmātya*, Śikharasvāmī, son of Viṣṇupālita, under Candragupta II, while another *Kumārāmātya*, Prithivīśena, held the high office of *Mahābalādhikṛta* under Kumāragupta. In the Damodarpur inscriptions we find the *Kumārāmātya* Vetravarman ruling Koṭivarsaviṣaya under Kumāragupta. In the light of these references it would be better to take the *Kumārāmātyas* to have been executive officers and members of a higher nobility (See E. I. XI, p. 176 note on Navalakhi plate of Śilāditya by Prof. Bhāḍakamkar also E. I. X, 50).

Smaller Subdivisions.—In addition to the divisions and subdivisions of *Deśa*, *Viṣaya*, *Maṇḍala* and *Bhukti*, we had the villages and towns and minor subdivisions like the *Paṭṭa*, *Paṭṭika*, *Petha* and *Sanḍika*. These last occur in the Khoh plates, but probably these divisions existed only in Central India.

Character of the Gupta Administration.—From a study of these official grades and their functions we can form an idea as to the character of the Gupta administration. Evidently, the Gupta Empire was governed partly by royal officers and partly by feudatories who were very often hereditary. The administration was not so centralised as the Maurya Empire. The central authority was certainly weak when compared with the Maurya Empire, and the Gupta kings never thought of carrying their interference as much as the Mauryas did, and we have no ground for holding that the Guptas ever attempted to lay down minute

regulations for the guidance of the people or for regulating trade and commerce. The resources at the disposal of the monarch were far less than those under the Mauryas, and even these suffered diminution owing to the growth of feudal families, the grants of land to priests and temples and the activity of municipalities and guilds.

But while the governmental authority was neither strong nor centralised, the personal authority of the Crown was far greater. The kings of the Gupta line had assumed pompous titles like *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-cakravartin* and bore surnames like *Vikramāditya*, *Kramāditya* or *Mahendrāditya*. They ruled by virtue of their personal prerogatives and issued edicts and commands to their officials or feudatories. They had no *Parīṣad* or Consultative Assembly, and the last mention of such a body is in Kālidasa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* which refers to a deliberation of the *Parīṣad* under the Śuṅgas. The Gupta kings, moreover, regulated the succession to the throne at their will and often nominated their successors. Candragupta I selected Samudragupta and Samudragupta chose Candragupta II as his successor. Some of the passages bearing on this point go to show that these selections were often in violation of the normal order of succession.

The Gupta monarchy suffered decay owing to the Hūṇa invasion. This gave an opportunity to the feudatories and led probably to the division of the monarchy. With the weakness of the central government, powerful feudatories like the ancestors of the Maukharis, the Valabhis and the Vardhanas of Thaneswar raised the standard of revolt. The Guptas of Magadha had to accept

for some time the suzerain authority of Harṣa. Afterwards some of them, like Ādityasena and Jivitagupta (G. I., 200–213), claimed sovereign power, but this did not last long. 1

NORTH INDIA AFTER THE GUPTAS.

The administrative system of Northern India did not differ materially from that under the Guptas. The Guptas of Magadha as well as their successors maintained nearly all the institutions and offices of their greater ancestors, though their real authority had become far less owing to the multiplication of feudatories and the rise of powerful monarchs like Śaśāṅka of Karnaśuvārṇa or the Maukharis.

Later Guptas.—From the Shahpur inscription of Ādityasena (G. I., 208) and the Deo-Baranak inscription (G. I., 215) of Jivitagupta II, we find the following offices, viz., *Rājaputra*, *Rājāmātya*, *Mahādandanāyaka*, *Mahāprahāra*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Rājasthānīya*, *Uparika*, *Cauroddharaṇika*, *Danḍapāśika*, *Dāṇḍika*, *Balādhikṛta*, *Tālavātaka* and *Sina-Karmakāra*.

In the Deo-Baranak inscription the administrative divisions are as of old, viz., *Bhukti*, *Maṇḍala*, *Viśaya* and *Grāma* or *Agrahāra*.

Harṣa.—During the time of Harṣa, the administrative system practically remained unchanged. In regard to his reign, we know something from his Madhuvana plate (Year 25, Ep. Ind. VII). That record speaks of the village 1

of Somakunḍaka in the Kuṇḍadhani Viṣaya in the Śrāvasti Bhukti. The command is issued to *Mahārājas*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahikas*, *Dauḥsādhanikas*, *Pramātāras*, *Rājassthānīyas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikaras* and *Viṣayapatīs*.

Valabhi Princes.—Valabhi princes issued their edicts to *Drāṅghikas*, *Mahattaras*, *Grāmakuṭas*, officers over *Cātas* and *Bhaṭas*, *Cauroddharaṇikas*, *Bhogikas*, *Dhruvādhikaraṇikas*, *Śaulkikas*, *Daṇḍapāśakas*, *Rājasthānīyas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Āyuktakas*, and *Vinīyuktakas*. In their grants the *Mahāsāndhivigraha* post occurs (E. I., XI 5; E. I., XVII 7). The territories of the Valabhi princes were subdivided into *Rāṣṭra*, *Viṣaya* and *Āhāras* subdivided into *Pathakas*. *Bhūmis* are also mentioned (G. I., 38, 39) in a large number grants (I. A., VI). Other officials were the *Rājakula*, *Amātya*, *Akṣapāṭalikas*, *Vartmapāla* and *Pratiśāraka*, (I. A., VII). Hence the administrative system of the Valabhis seems to have been mainly borrowed from the Guptas who were masters of Western India with some modifications.

Pāla Administration.—Under the successors of Harṣa, the administrative system of Northern India did not undergo material change. In fact, the names and designations of the Pāla officials as well as the administrative divisions are the same as in Gupta times. The chief officials under the Pālas, as we know from the Khalimpur, Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Bāngad and Manhali records as well as the Nalanda plates of Devapāla, were the following :—

Rāja-rājanaka—A high dignitary, enjoying a status

next to the king. *Rājanaka* may be derived from *Rājanyaka*.

Rājaputra—Either princes of royal family or those of allied families.

Mahāsāmanta—Chief of the *Sāmantas* or feudatories. *Sāmanta* originally meant a neighbour or feudatory.

Rājāmātya—Either the chief minister or a minister of the king. The *Amātyas* who formed the highest grade of the civil service in the *Arthaśāstra* were in charge of the various departments of civil administration.

Mahākārtākr̥tika—Meaning unknown.

Mahādandanāyaka—An officer in charge of *Danda* (an army or award of punishment). Probably an official with military command and criminal jurisdiction.

Mahāsenāpati—Chief commander of the Army.

Mahāpratihāra—High official in charge of the gates of the royal camp or palace. He was an official with military command and probably was the means of communication with the king.

Mahā-dauḥśādhnika—Meaning not clear. Probably an official in charge of implements for reducing strongholds. This meaning has been adopted by C. V. Vaidya (see M. H. I., Vol. II).

Mahākumārāmātya—A high official with military commission and authority to rule districts. The meaning assigned to the term by Fleet (*e.g.*, Councillor to a Prince) seems to be erroneous. Even in Gupta times we find *Kumārāmātyas* ruling districts.

Pramātr—Lit., one who measures. Might have been an official for assessment of dues.

Śarabhaṅga—Meaning not known. *Śara*—Arrow or grass (?)

Rājasthānīya—Lit., one who occupies the place and functions of the king. In some cases, as in Kashmir, he was a high judicial official; in minor positions, a royal agent.

Uparika—A governor with jurisdiction over units like *Bhuktis*. (Cf. *Uparikas* of Damodarpur, C.P. inscription).

Viṣayapati—A district official with power to govern *Viṣayas* which were sub-divisions of *Bhuktis* and *Maṇḍalas*.

Daśagrāmika—An official in charge of a group of ten villages.

Grāmapati—An officer in charge of *grāmas* or villages.

Mahāmahattaras—Accountants or officials in charge of villages or groups of villages.

Jyeṣṭha-kāyastha—Chief of the *Kāyasthas* who kept land records or collected royal dues.

Daśāparādhika—Meaning not clear. If the word is *Daśāparādhika*, it meant a subordinate magistrate with power of punishing ten minor offences (this right was entrusted to grantees of lands in Vākāṭaka inscription). If the word is *Dāśa*, then it meant an official in charge of runaway slaves or their offences.

Cauroddharaṇika—An officer with the special duty of apprehending thieves. (Cf. *Cora-rajjuka* of the *Arthaśāstra*).

Dāṇḍika—Lit., punisher; a minor official with criminal jurisdiction and power of punishing.

Daṇḍapāśika—Lit., official with power of binding

people with cords. An official in charge of criminals or men imprisoned.

Saulkika—Lit., in charge of *śulka*; hence, an official in charge of toll-collection. (Cf. *Śulkādhyakṣa* of the *Arthaśāstra*).

Gaulmika—Lit., in charge of *gulmas*; hence, police officials in charge of outposts. (Cf. *Gulmādhyakṣa*).

Kṣetrapa—In charge of *kṣetras* or fields, probably belonging to the king.

Prāntapāla—An official in charge of borders. Hence frontier guards and officials.

Koṭṭapāla—In charge of *koṭṭas*, which meant either block houses or places of garrison.

Ṣaṣṭhādhikṛta—In charge of the royal sixth. Hence revenue collector.

Tarika—Lit., in charge of ferries; hence officers collecting ferry-dues which went to the king, from the earliest times.

Hastipāla—In charge of royal elephants.

Aśvapāla—In charge of royal horses.

Uṣṭrapāla—In charge of royal camels.

Similarly, officials in charge of buffalos, goats, sheep, etc.

Dūtapreṣaṇika, *Dūta-khola-gamāgamika*—Officials in charge of sending runners or messengers.

Abhitvaramāṇa—Probably in charge of ferries or crossings, etc.(?)

Kāyastha—Accountant or record-keeper.

Gamāgamika—Lit., in charge of coming and going; hence an official in charge of transport.

Kulika—Workman or artisan.

Minor officials and menials like *Khaśa*, *Cāṭa*, *Bhaṭa*, *Hūṇa*—These menial names are significant. *Hūṇas* were probably men of that tribe then forming a caste of menials. Similarly, we have *Khaśas*, *Mālavas* and *Karṇāṭas*, representing the adventurous mercenaries of those nations in the pay of the Bengal kings and feudatories.

The Nalanda C. P. mentions all the above officials and grades, including *Kumārāmātya*, *Sarabhaṅga*, *Rāja-sthañīya*, *Daśāparādhika*, *Mitrapāla*, *Koṭṭapāla*, *Abhiṣvara-mānaka*, *Tarika*, *Tarapañika*, *Cāṭa* and *Bhaṭa*, in addition to *Mālava*, *Khaśa* and *Karṇāṭa* who were most probably mercenaries and menials recruited from different localities of India.

Administrative Divisions.—The administrative divisions under the Pālas and their successors remained as before. The highest divisions were the *Bhuktis*, subdivided into *Maṇḍalas* and *Viśayas*. A number of *Grāmas* formed a *Viśaya*. This *Bhukti* division lasted for a long time in Eastern and Central India and there were the *Bhuktis* of Kānyakubja (I. A. XIX, Barah Ins. of Bhoja), Śrāvastī, Śrīpura-bhukti, Tīra-bhukti (Tirhut region), Puṇḍra-vardhana (North Bengal), Vardhamāna (Burdwan region), Daṇḍa (Midnapur). As stated already in Central India, there were the Jejakabhukti and Tejabhukti (E. I., 138—146), Penthān-bhukti (Paipur, C.P.) and the Pāñcāla-bhukti. Under the Pālas, Prāgjyotiṣa or Assam was a *Bhukti* (see Kamauli plate of Vaidyadeva). In the Deccan, a Pratiṣṭhāna-bhukti is mentioned, but farther south this division hardly occurred.

Senas.—Under the Senas of Bengal, practically the same system of administration subsisted as would appear from Deopara and Barakpore C. P. of Vijayasena, Naihati C.P. of Vallālasena and Lakṣmaṇasena's Ānulia, Govindapur, Madhainagar and Tarpandighi grants (E. I., XII, E. I., XIV, XV, etc.). These refer to grants in villages in *Viṣayas* situated in *Maṇḍalas* in the Vardhamāna and Puṇḍravardhana *Bhuktis*. Uttara-Rādha was a *Maṇḍala*, while Puṇḍravardhana included even Vaṅga or Eastern Bengal.

The dignitaries addressed to are the *Rāja-rājanaka*, *Rājñi*, *Rāṇaka*, *Rājaputra*, *Rājāmātya*, *Purohita*, *Dharmādhyakṣa*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *Senāpati*, *Mudrādhikṛta*, *Antaraṅga*, *Brhaduparika*, *Mahākṣapāṭalika*, *Mahāpratihāra*, *Mahābhogika*, *Pilupati*, *Mahāgaṇaka*, *Dauḥsā-dhanika*, *Cauroddharanika*, and officers in charge of kine, horses and war-boats as well as *Daṇḍapāśika* and *Daṇḍanāyaka* in addition to *Cāṭa* and *Bhaṭa*. The Belava plate of Bhojavarmadeva (E. I., XII, 8) mentions the same officials including *Pīṭhīlāvitta*, *Mahādharma-dhyakṣa*, *Mahābhogika*, *Vyūhapati*, *Antaraṅga*, etc., in addition to the usual officials. The Ramapala C. P. grant of Śricandra mentions *Koṭṭapāla* in addition. The Ghugarahati inscription of Samācāradeva (E. I., XVIII), does not furnish additional information on the officials but throws light on village administration. The usual divisions are, as before. *Bhukti*, *Maṇḍala*, *Viṣaya* and *Grāma*. The Belava plate speaks of a *Khaṇḍala* as a division of *Maṇḍala*. The Naihati C. P. mentions *Vithi* as a territorial division. Vaṅga was part of Puṇḍravardhana (Edilpur C. P.).

Kaliṅga and Orissa.—An inscription of Mahābhāva-gupta refers to a land grant in a *Viṣaya* and addresses officials the more important of whom were *Samāhartr*, *Sannidhātr*, *Piśunas* (spies), *Vetrika* (holders of rods), officials of the harem and *Rājavallavas* in addition to *Cāṭas* and *Bhaṭas*.

As regards Orissa, more light is thrown by the other records. The Neulpara grant of Kaṭaka (VIIIth Cen.) refers to the Pāñcālabhukti and *Viṣaya* while among the officials addressed to are the *Kumārāmātyas*, *Sthānāntarikas* and *Antaraṅgas*. (See E. I. XIV and E. I., XIX).

The Inscriptions issued by the Senas are of great interest, so far as the administrative history of Bengal is concerned. The Senas seem to have devised no new institutions and their system of government seems to have been modelled upon those of the Pālas, who in their turn borrowed the institutions of the Guptas. The Sena inscriptions contain many new official titles of a lower grade. The meanings of most of them are obsolete, but we mention some of these:—

Antaraṅga (having close relations?), physicians (E. I., XII, 43); *Āṅgikaranika* (in charge of oaths?), *Ekasaraka* (meaning unknown), *Autthitāsanika* (ordering the rising from seats?), *Khola* (see Khālimpur—unknown), *Daughāsādhana* (in charge of difficult undertakings—siege operations?), *Piṭhikāvitta* (unknown), *Mahākāṭuka* (unknown), *Vāsāgānika* (in charge of residencies?), *Sāntivācanika* (priest sprinkling *sānti* water), *Sāntakika* (unknown), *Haṭṭapati* (in charge of markets).

Some other titles are easily understood (*cf.* Bhuktipati, Viṣayapati and Maṇḍalapati). *Mahāgaṇastha* was probably in charge of a *gaṇa* or corporation. *Karaṇas* are to be equated with the *Kāyastha* who were keepers of accounts and records. *Sthānāntarika* is difficult to understand but could have meant an official who expelled undesirables. Several words like *Sarabhūga*, occurring in Pāla records, is difficult to interpret. (For attempts at interpretation, see N. G. Majumdar's *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III).

Administrative System of the Gurjara-Pratihāras.—The other great monarchies in Northern India on the eve

of Mahmud's invasion were the extensive kingdom of the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the states which arose after its downfall. Kanauj was the capital of the Pratihāras and the suzerain authority of the Pratihāra monarch was obeyed almost from the borders of Multan to the confines of North Bengal and the Himalayas in the North to the South of the Vindhyas.

But there was very little of a consolidated central authority and the greater part of the territory was in the hands of powerful feudatories as we shall see in a later section.

From the inscriptions, very little is known about the Gurjara-Pratihāra institutions or of administrative divisions. The inscriptions of Mahendrapāla (Mahodaya. I. A., XV, 150—113) and of Vināyakapāla merely mention the officers in charge in general terms. But in all probability the higher officials under the Gurjara-Pratihāra monarchies had the usual names and functions so common in mediæval inscriptions or in literature.

But as to administrative divisions, we find mention of *Bhuktis*, *Maṇḍalas*, *Viṣayas* and *Grāmas* in addition to *Pathakas*. One inscription of Mahendrapāla (I. A., XV, 105—113) mentions Śrāvasti-bhukti, Śrāvasti-maṇḍala and Valayika-viṣaya, while another inscription speaks of the village of Takkan in Kasipara-pathaka in Varanasi-viṣaya in Pratisthan-bhukti. Another Pratisthan inscription (I. A., XIX, Barah inscription of Bhoja) speaks of Kānyakubja-bhukti. From Mathanadeva's inscription, we merely know that in some provinces *Bhoga* was a higher division than Grāma. Bhogas, we know from the Harṣa inscription

Plate of Kirtipāla we find the names of officials like *Aṣṭavargika*, *Daivāgārika*, *Mahārthasāsanika* and *Saṅkhaadhārin* (E. I., VII, 10).

The attempt to make a complete catalogue of the officials in the different parts of India is almost an impossible task. But as an idea of the administrative machinery is to be derived from it, we make an attempt to mention some more official grades and titles from the inscriptions. The recently prepared list of inscriptions by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, helps us to do something in this direction and from this we give the following official titles and grades:—

Bhandarkar's List No 11 mentions a *Rājasthānīya*, No. 3 mentions, *Dyāūsabhāpati* (master of royal dice house). In connection with town Gopādrī, we find mention of a *Koṭṭapāla*, *Balādhikṛta*, *Śreṣṭhin* and *Sārthārāha*. No. 22 mentions a *Karāṇika*, a *Sātradhāra* and a *Dharmalekhin* (writer of pious deeds). In No. 236, we have reference to a *Vyayikuraṇa-mahāmātya* (Superintendent of Expenditure) of Jayasinha of Gujarat. No. 278 refers to the *Bhāṇḍāgārika* of a queen. No. 306 mentions a *Rājyacintaka* (Superintendent). No. 25 mentions a *Vyavahārin* (Judge). A *Mahākṣapāṭalika* Kāyastha is mentioned in No. 34, while another refers to a warden of the marchants. A head physician is mentioned (in No. 67, B. I.). *Sārthavāha*, *Kulika*, *Śreṣṭhin* and *Kāyastha* are also mentioned in the Damodarpur plates (E. I., Vol. XV).

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEMS OF THE DECCAN AND CENTRAL INDIA.



Just after the Maurya domination, the North Indian type of administration had gained ground in the Deccan though very little information is furnished by the inscriptions of the Andhras or successors. But, an inscription (E. I., XVI, 16) found at Kirari (Central Provinces) written in Brahmi (Nasik type) on a *yūpa* used in connection with the celebration of *vājapeya*, supplies us with the following list

of officials with names through the name of the king is not given :—

Mahāsenāni (Siddharāja?).

Senāpati (Bāmadevya).

Pratihāra (Khipatti).

Nagararakṣin (Virapālita).

Bhāṇḍāgārika (Asadhia).

Other officials were the Gaṇaka (*Hesai—a nāga*), *Hastyāroha*, *Aśvāroha*, *Rathika*, *Pādamūlika*, *Māhānasika*, *Hastipaka*, *Dhāvaka*, *Saugandhika*, *Gomāṇḍalika*, *Yāna-sālā-yuddhagharika*, *Palavithidakapālīka*, *Lekha-hārika*, *Kulaputra*.

The importance of the inscription in the administrative history of India is yet to be noticed. But anyhow the the North Indian system had spread to the Deccan even in the second century B.C.

Deccan and Central India came to the hands of the Andhras and after their fall, they passed under other powers. Under the Vākātakas their extensive kingdom stretched from the Vindhya to the borders of the Tamil country, but very few of their inscriptions have come down to us and even these contain little details about the administration. Much of the Vākātika territories was in the hands of feudatories as we know from the Chamak C. P. Ins. where the Bhojakaṭa-rājya is mentioned. The Vākātakas had their feudatories like the one line descended in the Ajanta Inscription. (A. S. W. I., IV). From the Dandia plate of Pravarasena II, it appears that the kingdom was divided into *Rājyas*, and there were the minor divisions of *Sanḡamika* and *Bhoga* (Ep. Ind. III, 35). The

of the Cāhamāna Vighraharāja (I. A., XXII), were divided into smaller units, namely, *Dvādaśa* (groups of 12 villages), and *Viṣayas*. The Harṣa inscription gives us the names of a number of *Viṣayas*. Other smaller divisions were *Paṭṭikas* (hamlet) and *Pāṭakas* (a part of a town).

The Caulakyas of Gujarat.—Under the Caulakyas no innovations as regards the central administrative machinery were made. The high officials were the *Sāndhivighraṭhika*, *Mahāmātya*, *Amātya*, *Senāpati*, *Pratīhāra*, *Mudrādhyakṣa*, *Akṣapāṭalika*, etc.

The Anaveda Ins. of Sāraṅgadeva Baghela is important as throwing light on the administrative system. The Caulakya grants mention the *Pathāka* division in addition villages (I. A., VI).

The Cedis of Haihaya.—The monarchies which arose out of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Kingdom had nothing peculiar in their administrative system. Very little information is obtained from the inscriptions and most of these record the grant of land or villages or devote their greatest length to the descriptions of the different dynasties or the claims of conquest made by individual rulers.

In regard to the *Cedis of Haihaya* (see E. I. II, 304), we find the following officials under King Karṇa viz., *Mahāmantrin*, *Mahāmātya*, *Mahāsāndhivighraṭhika*, *Mahādharmaadhikaraṇika*, *Mahāpratīhāra*, *Mahākṣapāṭalika*, *Mahākaraṇika*, *Mahāsāmanta*, *Mahāpramātā*, *Mahāsādhanaṭhika*, *Mahābhāṇḍāgārika* and *Mahādhyakṣa*. The Goharwa plates of Karṇa furnish the same list of officers (E. I., XI, 13; E. I., XII, 24). Of territorial divisions the *Paṭṭala* is mentioned (E. I., XI, 13).

The Paramāras.—The Paramāra plates give us little of additional details. Nor do we get any new information from the *Yuktikalpataru* by King Bhoja, except the traditional official names and grades.

The Banswara plate of Bhoja mentions, however, the village as the smallest territorial unit. The next higher divisions were the *Bhogas* and *Maṇḍalas*. The *Pathaka* occurs in the Ujjain plates of Bhoja. The *Paṭṭakila* was in charge of small units like villages. One inscription (I.A., XIV) of Bhoja speaks of a *Pratijāgaranaka* and a village group.

The Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj.—The Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions are similarly silent about administrative details. But some inscriptions like those of Govindacandra (I. A., XIV; I. A., XVI; E. I., VII); as well as the Kamauli plates give us the names of the great officers of the realm, viz., *Mantrin*, *Purohita*, *Pratihāra*, *Senāpati*, *Bhāṇḍārika*, *Akṣapāṭalika*, *Bhīṣak*, *Naimittika*, *Antahpurika*, *Dūtaka* and officers in charge of *Pattana*, *Ākara* and *Gokula*.

Of administrative divisions, the *Paṭṭala* is found as a new term. *Pāṭakas* seems to have been divisions of *Paṭṭalas*.

Other Principalities.—As regards other principalities of the neighbourhood we find some new offices in an inscription of Sodhadeva (E. I., VII, 9), a king of the XIIth century ruling near Gorakhpur in which the king addresses his officials who were the *Sāndhivigrahika*, *Mahāmahantaka*, *Mahādānika*, *Viṣayadānika*, *Khaṇḍavāla*, *Balāṣiya*, and *Bhaṭṭākṣakulika*. *Viṣayas* and *Pathakas* are referred to. From the Lucknow Museum

meaning of *Bhoga* is not clear, like that of the *Bhogikas* met with in the Khoh plates.

As to officials we have no details. Those mentioned in Nach-ni-katalai and Chamak are *Sarvādhyakṣa*, *Adhiyoga*, *Niyukta*, *Ajnāsañcarin*, *Kulaputra* and *Adhikṛta*. *Senāpatis* are also mentioned.

The Cālukyas and Rāṣtrakūṭas in the Deccan. [The Deccan came to comprise Mahārāṣṭra as well as outlying provinces and principalities, under the suzerain authority both of the early Cālukyas and of the Rāṣtrakūṭas, as well as of the later Cālukyas of Kalyan. The Deccan was moreover divided into a large number of feudatory chiefships, which were closely connected with the *Mahābhōjis* and *Mahārathis* of the Andhra period. The *Mahārathis* had survived and give the name Mahārāṣṭra to the country. Mahārāṣṭra proper containing 99,000 villages was again divided like Kalinga into three parts (*cf.* Aihole Ins. of Pulakeśi II, E. I., VI, *cf.* *Agamad ādhipatyam yo Mahārāṣtrakāṇām navaṇavati-sahasragrāmabhājam trayāṇām*). To this Mahārāṣṭra kingdom were gradually attached Konkan and north Kanara. The Kadamba kingdom became a feudatory and later on under the Kalyan Cālukyas it was regarded as an integral part or a fief. Lāṭa formed a part of the Cālukya Pulakeśi II's conquests but was handed over to a branch of the same family. The western Gaṅgas more or less acknowledged the supremacy of the Deccan power. [Veṅgi was conquered by Pulakeśi II but passed to Kubja Viṣṇu-Vardhana who founded the line of the Eastern Cālukyas.] The suzerain power in the Deccan was constantly in conflict with the dominant power

in the extreme South. Consequently, the Deccan rulers had to wage perpetual warfare with the Pallavas and later on with the Colas.

So far as we know, the Mahārāṣṭra region was divided into *Rāṣṭras*, subdivided into *Viṣayas* and then into *Grāmas*. These were ruled by *Rāṣṭrapatis*, *Viṣayapatis* and *Grāmakūṭas*.

The *Bhukti* division which was essentially a northern administrative unit arising with the Guptas, seems to subsist only in the northern region, but both in Mahārāṣṭra as well as in the southern fringe and Gujerat, we find a prevalence of village-groups beginning with groups of 3, 12, 70, 300, 1,000, 2,000 rising to 12,000, 32,000, 96,000 and to seven and a half lakh in the case of the whole Rāṭṭa country. We have innumerable references to plots of land or administrative units designated by the number of villages contained in them. Thus the Sanjana plate of Amoghavarṣa mentions a village in a group of 24. The Atakur Inscription mentions the Vanavasi 12,000, Belvola 300, the Purigere 3, the Kasukad 70, and the Bagenad 70. The Atakur 12 was granted by Butuga II to a follower of his (see Ep. Ind., VI, the Atakur Ins., Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, the Sanjan plates, Miraj plates, Ep. Ind., XII). This village group system is of great interest and may point out to the growth of the commune in early times. Even now this system survives in many provinces of western India and in Gujerat.

(Under the kings of the Deccan* who were either the

* In the Maratha and Kanarese country, we find territorial divisions desig-

Čalukyas or the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, there was hardly any change in the higher administrative body. It was composed of the high officials already found in Hindu monarchies—*Mantrin*, *Amātya*, *Sāndhivigrahika*, *Pratihāra*, *Sāmanta*, *Akṣapāṭalika*, *Daṇḍanāyaka*, *Senāpati* and others. The *Kāyasthas* are repeatedly mentioned, but new terms like *Balādhībhogin* occur. A large part of the country was however in the hands of independent feudatories, as we shall see very soon.

Yādavas of Devagiri and Hoysālas of Dvārasamudra.—Under the successors of the Kalyan Čalukyas the Yādavas of Devagiri, the old system of higher administration remained almost unchanged. The higher officialdom included the *Mantrin* (like Hemādri), the *Sāndhivigrahika*, the *Mahāpratihāra*, the *Sāmantas*, the *Daṇḍanāyakas*, the *Senāpatis* and their subordinates in charge of districts or minor departments. The minister for peace and war was

nated by the number of villages contained therein. Whence and how this system came to originate is difficult to say, but the repeated occurrence of territorial units with a conventional number of villages attached to it is too well known to historians. We may mention some of these:—

Gangavadi 96,000, Nolambadi 32,000, Banavāsi 12,000, Torgal 6,000, Kandi 3,000, Konkana 1,00, Palasige 1000, Mandali 1,000, Taravadi 1,000, Hangal 500, Kundar 500, Purigere 300, Belvola 300, Belgali 300, Kelavadi 300, Sibbi 96, Kisukad 70, Baje 70, Kudarage 70, Bagtnad 70, Venugrama 70, Cibi 30, Atakar 12, we have groups of 24 and 12 like the Atakar 12 and even of 3 (Purigere 3). (See Rice, M. & K. P.: E. I., Vols. V, VI, XII; I. A., Vols. XII, etc.; and D. K. D.). For the whole Rāṣṭrakūṭa country, the number of villages estimated was seven and a half lacs, though the Aihole Ins. speaks of 60,000 villages in the three Mahārāṣṭras and King Kṛṣṇa Rāṣṭrakūṭa speaks of his ownership of 4,00,000 villages (Bhandak Plate). See also Iyengar's Deccan, 362.

of considerable importance (Rice, 169—170). In the XIIth century, the Kalacūras employed *Karanams* or "imperial censors" to watch over the provincial governors and they were five in number known as the *Dharmādhyakṣaṅgal* or *Rājādhyakṣaṅgal*.

Under the Hoysālas, five ministers (*Pañca-pradhānas*) stood very prominent and of these the prime minister (the *Śirahpradhāna*, *Sarvapradhāna*, or the *Sarvādhikārin*) was pre-eminent among them and was the spokesman (tongue) in the Council. Under them were the lower officials, in charge of departments or of the provinces. The provincial officers often bore the title of *Daṇḍanāyaka*. Some of these combined higher titles and were often *Senāpatīs*. A general is described as bearing the titles of *Mahāpradhāna*, *Sarvādhikārin*, *Senāpati* and *Hiriyahadval* (Rice, 170).

Royal secretaries enjoying the confidence of the king (like the *Rahasyādhikṛtas*) communicated the king's orders and these were preserved in records (*Kaḍata*).

TAMIL INDIA.

The administrative system of the extreme south was evolved out of the combination of local institutions with those received from the north. Very little is known of the earliest southern society and we may safely presume that before the third century B.C., Tāmilakam was convulsed by constant wars among the tribes. If we are to believe in the *Tolkappiyān*, the extreme south divided into five geographical areas, was the scene of warfare amongst five

tribes, whose later descendants as well as present survivors it will be very difficult to identify. Gradually, north Indian adventurers and Brāhmanas migrated to the south and spread new ideas and their culture.

By the first century of the Christian era, royal dynasties came to establish themselves and occupied a superior position. The Colas established themselves in the eastern coastal region from Palekat to Yondi and controlled the lesser chieftains and rulers of Nāḍus. This region was later known as the *Cola-maṇḍalam*.

The Pāṇḍya country lay to the south and comprised the districts of Madura and Tinnevely and parts of southern Travancore. If we believe in Megasthenes, Pāṇḍyas were ruled by women, probably referring to the pre-eminent position of women in southern societies.

Kerala or Malabar lay to the west, and Mysore was parcelled out amongst minor chiefs, and the northern frontiers were held by chiefs of Tulu and Tirupathu country. North of these were the Vadukars (northerners). The whole region was supposed to have 13 Nāḍus, but gradually there arose the three crowned heads and seven chiefs.

As stated already, Karikala (Gula), the Blackfoot, the Cola ruler, was the first to attempt the establishment of his authority over the whole land and it was probably he who established the 24 Kottams or forts which were the headquarters of later districts. After the fall of Karikala's successors, the Red Cera Śenguthuvan established Cera supremacy, which later some time passed to the Pāṇḍyas. From these latter, the Pallavas snatched away supreme

power which lasted for four centuries. With headquarters at Kañci, they ruled over the subordinate chiefs, their own centre being Tonḍamaṇḍalam.

The early Tamils were a hardy and warlike people among whom women enjoyed an almost equal status with their male kinsmen. The policy of the early tribal states was based on the—

- (a) Communal village;
- (b) Various popular assemblies of priests and ministers; and local elders;
- (c) Chiefs.

The power of the chiefs was at first fully limited but gradually rose in course of the perpetual warfare.

The predominance of the tribal principle, the persistent enmity among the tribes and the influence of some other factors contributed to the long-continued existence of small principalities and chiefships. These in their turn resisted the growth of a centralised monarchy, controlling the local affairs of the different units and provinces. Northern influence or foreign contact fostered the growth of the imperial ideal, but a powerful king—a Permerḍḍi or a Nurmarḍḍi—never destroyed the chiefships or the autonomy of the localities. Local autonomy remained the most dominant political principle and in social life the self-sufficient village community remained the unit. (See S. K. Aiyangar's *Contributions of South India*, XIX).

The influence of this Village Community lasted throughout the history of Tāmilakam and even now we have a similar village type with co-operative institutions and communal organisation.

Pallavas.— With the advent of the Pallavas, a new era begins in the administrative history of Southern India. The Pallavas were northerners in origin, and as such they were always regarded as foreigners by the Tamils. They established themselves in Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam, the Gaṅga-vāḍi and Veṅgi (Veṅgai-Nāḍu).

Under them we have the evolution of a new type of administration which imposed a superstructure of northern origin and northern ideal of government upon the local and communal institutions of the south.

At the bottom of the system was the Village or *Grāma*. A number of villages constituted a *Koṭṭam* or *Deśa* and a number of *Koṭṭams* made up a *Rāṣṭra* which was more often synonymous with *Maṇḍala*.

For the administrative history of the Pallavas, the Hirahadgalli Copper plates of Śivaskandavarman (E. I., I, 5), as well as the Rayakoṭa plates of Skandaśiṣya (E. I., V, 8), the Ongoḍu plates of Vijayaskandavarman (E. I., XV), the Kuram plates of Parameśvaravarman I (S. I. I., Vol. I, 144), are very important. From these we know that the Pallava kings, who often took the title of *Dharma-mahārāja*, succeeded in building up a more comprehensive administrative machinery, which was on the northern model. While the provinces (*rāṣṭras*) and subdivisions were under the charge of *Deśādhipikṛtas*, minor officials known as *Vipittas* (*Vyāpṛtas*) took care of royal interests in the villages. *Amātyas* supervised the administration and gave orders.

In the midst of the country were established garrisons commanded by *Nayikas* (*Nāyakas*) and customs houses

(*Maṇḍapas*) in charge of the *Maṇḍapis*. Other important officers were the *Tuthikas* (*Tirthikas*) who took charge of bathing places and ferries(?) *Gulmikas* (*Gumikas*) took care of the forests. Roaming spies (*Sañcarantakas*) watched over the conduct of the people. *Vallavas* and *Govallavas* are also mentioned (E. I., I, No. 1).

In the territories of the conquered princes, much of authority was felt to the local rulers. This was a source of weakness, for the princes of Kerala, Pāṇḍya and Cola country took the earliest opportunity of revolting.

Over local officers were the higher officials of the central government. These included—

(1) The *Amātyas*—Probably advisers of the king or supervisors of the civil government;

(2) The *Rahasyādhikṛtas*—Privy Councillors enjoying royal trust;

(3) The *Senāpatis*—Military officers commanding troops and chastising local and foreign enemies.

Local Administration under the Pallavas.—Villages and towns were administered by local assemblies, i.e. the *Sabhās* and the *Nagarattaras*. Their functions, duties and constitution are to be discussed in full in a later section. In villages and towns, measures were taken to have a comprehensive land survey as well for water supply and other important local works.

The Cola Administration.—On the decline of the Pallava power towards the close of the IXth century A.D., the Cola power revived at the instance of Vijayālaya and by Parantaka Parakeśari Varman (906—947), though his successor Rājāditya met his death at the battle of

Takkolam, at the hands of a feudatory of Kṛṣṇa III. Under Rājaraḥa the Cola Empire was fully consolidated (985—1012) though a continuous war was waged by the Colas with the Cāluḥyas.

The Colas succeeding Rājaraḥa consolidated a fine administrative system. As under the Pallavas, the highest units were known as *Maṇḍalas*, of which six existed :—

- (a) Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam—Pallava country.
- (b) Chola-maṇḍalam—Original Cola country.
- (c) Solakerala-maṇḍalam—Kongu country, known as Salem and Coimbatore districts.
- (d) Rājaraḥa-maṇḍalam—Part of Pāṇḍya country.
- (e) Gaṅgaikoṇḍācola-maṇḍalam—Western Gaṅga country and part of Mysore.
- (f) Nīkharilicola-maṇḍalam—Eastern Gaṅga country and part of Mysore.

To these were attached Veṅḡai-nāḍu or Veṅḡi, the country of a dependent ally. As would appear from above, the *Maṇḍalas* were originally independent countries like those of the Keralas, Pallavas and Gaṅgas. New names were given to them after the Cola ruler who conquered them. *Maṇḍala* in the eyes of the Colas, was the highest territorial division and the Colas called Mahārāṣṭra by the name of Raṭṭa-maṇḍala.

Villages were the smallest units of the Empire. A number of villages constituted a Nāḍu. A number of Nāḍus made up a Koṭṭam. In the Cola country proper, there was the administrative division of Valaṇaḍu, a number of which constituted the Cola-maṇḍalam. Accord-

ing to K. Aiyengar, there were eight such Valanāḍus (see Iyengar's *Ancient India*, 174—175, Deccan, Bk., V).

The Cola government was based upon a highly organised village system administered by a local assembly or *Sabhā*. Similar *sabhās* existed in townships.

The higher executive machinery under the Cola kings comprised—

- (a) A number of secretaries or advisers, the chief secretary having the title of Olai-nāyaka;
- (b) *Senāpatīs*;
- (c) Judges and magistrates (*Adhikaraṇas*);
- (d) Tax collectors, tolls-gatherers, etc. (*Kaṇu*);
- (e) Officers and accountants in towns (*Nagarattam*).

In the conquered countries, the local rulers were left with much authority. Gradually, however, the Cola kings replaced them by royal princes sent out from the capital. (For Cola administration see Iyengar's Deccan Bk., X; *Ancient India*, Ch. VI).

Pāṇḍya-Kerala.—The administrative history of the Pāṇdyas and Keralas presents nothing of special interest except the autonomous village system and the existence of minor chiefships. On the fall of the Colas, the Pāṇdyas organised a transient empire which lasted for nearly half a century, only to be extinguished by the attack of the Mussalman army under Malik Kafur.

The central executive body gradually came to consolidate its power and it was modelled on the northern administration. As regards the first empire very little of details is known. Under Jatila Parāntaka we find mention of *Uttara-mantriṇaḥ* and *Mahāsāmantas* (Nilakantha

Sastry's Pāṇdyas, 85), while in the Madras Museum plates we have a reference to *Mātaṅgādhyakṣa* (officer in charge of elephants).

The smallest administrative divisions as in the earliest period were the Villages or *Grāmas*. The next higher unit was the *Nāḍu* or the *Nad* or the *Kurram* which is often designated by the term *Rāṣṭra*. The *Nad* had an independent existence with its own officers and its local customs. (N. Sastri, Pāṇdyas, Ch. III, VII, etc.)

But in Kerala, one remarkable institution attracts our attention, namely, the republican federation which was organised by the local Brahmins. According to recorded tradition, there were 64 chiefships, which united to form a federation with elective office-bearers, who controlled the the affairs of the state. After a considerable period, however, there were quarrels among the leaders and the headship of the state was vested in the Nayar prince of the locality, who bore the title of *Perumal* (*Per*=great, *mal*=god).

For the administration of Kerala, we have the works and contributions of recent writers including Mr. K. P. Menon (*Journal of Indian History*, 1925), and Mr. Pillay (I. A., XXIV). According to them, for administrative purposes, Kerala came to be divided into *Nāḍus* (ruled by *Naduvālis*), *Deśams* (ruled by *Deśavāli*), and the smallest divisions were the villages—the *Grāmas* of the Nambudris, the *Taras* of the Nayars and the *Cheri* of the lower caste people. In *Nāḍus* a royal *Senāpati* was in charge of the military and the police.

The *Perumals'* authority grew, but the voice of the

people remained supreme and they met in *Kuṭṭams* or assemblies. The smallest *Kuṭṭams* were those of the village-people under the *Kāraṇavars* and they discussed local affairs and, sometimes meeting under the *Āśān*, settled communal disputes. The Assembly of the *Nāḍu* was more powerful and discussed topics of greater interest. The 18 divisions of the country had these assemblies and in the IXth century or thereabout assemblies of 500, or 600 or even 6,000 used to meet. Later on, there was a big assembly for the whole country which was presided over by the *Valḷuvanād* till the XIIIth century when the Zamorin assumed the presidency. According to one authority such an assembly was held even as late as 1743 A.D. The British, however, ignored the local organisation of the Nayers (see C. V. Vaidya, Vol. III, 467—469).

In these communal administrations, the temples played an important part and each of these had its office-bearers and assemblies. The assembly could remove the *Taliyalvan* and was presided over by the Pālī-Nayar. Similarly the *Adhikaṅguls*, including the *Potuvals*, were subject to the assembly. All duties of the collection of taxes and management of temples were supervised by the assembly. The temple assembly also discharged important socio-economic functions and temples supervised local needs and acted as banks (Tali Ins., I. H. Q., IV, 152).

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

While the king was supreme in the state, and directed the general policy of government as well as the conduct of wars and alliances, the administration of the different districts of the country was in the hands of local officials. Probably, in the provinces round the capital the king exercised governmental authority, but the outlying districts were entrusted to his deputies. These deputies, subject to their loyalty to their master, the king, were supreme within their jurisdiction. They supervised the administration, administered the laws, promulgated royal edicts, looked to the preservation of life and property, fought against the local enemies to peace and redressed the grievances of subjects. These provincial governors belong to three categories :—

(a) Junior members of the royal family including the younger brothers and sons of the king and sometimes uncles, sons-in-laws or relatives of the king by marriage.

(b) Eminent officials or trusted ministers who were appointed to rule the provinces.

(c) Feudatories, who acknowledged the paramount authority of the king, obeyed his commands, paid tribute and fought for him.

(a) *Princes of the royal family*.—Princes of the royal family were more often selected to fill the post of provincial governors. Such a practice seems to have existed among the Mauryas. Aśoka himself was the viceroy of Ujjain and his son Kunāla was in charge of the Taxila

province.. The Mitras as well as the Andhras similarly appointed princes of the royal blood to act as provincial governors. Such a practice probably existed under the Guptas but we have very little epigraphic evidence except the case of Kumāra Govinda Gupta. But later on this became an almost universal practice among the rulers of Mediæval Hindu India and we have innumerable inscriptions proving this. Thus, under Pulakeśi II, his younger brother Viṣṇu-varḍhan ruled first over the Satara region and later in Vengi, where with his brother's consent he founded an independant dynasty of his own. Pulakeśi's two sons Candrāditya and Ādityavarman, ruled the Savantavandi district and the region near the confluence of Kistna and Tungabhadra respectively. Pulakeśi's successor Vikramāditya put his brother Jayasinhavarman over Lāṭa where he founded a line of his own. Among the Gangas we have the practice of appointing princes to rule provinces (Rice—44). Among the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Dhruva appointed his eldest son Mārakkasara to rule over the Gangavādi region selecting his younger son Govinda III for the crown. Govinda gave Lāṭa to his younger brother Indra who founded a Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty there. Under the Čālukyas of Kalyan, we find Someśvara's sons ruling portions of the empire and under Vikramāditya VI, his brother, Jayasinha, ruled Vanavāsi but revolted.

In the extreme south as well as under the later dynasties we have the same practice of appointing royal princes to the provinces. The Pallavas followed the same practice and the Colas were fond of it. The Cola Rājā-dhirāja made it a practice to confer viceroalties on sons,

uncles, brothers and cousins. Vengi was granted to a Cola prince while in other provinces sons of the king were appointed.

Female Governors.—Queens and royal princesses were often appointed to rule provinces. We have many references to such in the Karnata records under the Calukyas of Kalyan. Thus in 1053, under Somesvara I, Queen Mailaladevi ruled Vanavāsi. In 1054 Queen Ketaladevi governed the Ponnavaḍu agrahara enjoying $\frac{1}{3}$ of the revenue. The six queens of Vikrama VI all enjoyed territories as *angabhogas* (D.K.D. 448). Someśvara I's aunt, the amazon Akkā, ruled a province of 200 villages and laid siege to Gokat. A daughter of Vikrama VI, Mailala married to a feudatory, Jayakesin Kadamba, ruled a province under and along with her husband.

↓ *Ministers etc.*—Viceroys and governors were often recruited from able officials or ministers of proved loyalty and efficiency. Of such we have innumerable mention in the inscriptions. Thus under the Mauryas, some of the Mahāmātras and Ayaputas were members of the higher bureaucracy. Under the Guptas, Parnadatta and Chakrapālita ruled Gujarat. The rulers of Pundra Vardhana under the Guptas were selected from the higher bureaucracy while Bhuktis were ruled by Uparikas and Kumārāmātyas who also ruled the Viśayas or minor subdivisions (Damoderpur Inscriptions). Under the Pālas, the minister Vaidyadeva was appointed to the province of Prāgjyotiṣapura where he made himself king.

Under the Pallavas we meet with provincial governors and generals ruling provinces and many of these were

selected from the higher bureaucracy or from amongst trusted ministers.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Cālukyas of Kalyan, not only employed such ministers and trusted officials, but very often entrusted provinces to able feudatories and often to friendly allies. Of friendly allies under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, we have the examples of Butuga II who had seized the Ganga kingdom with Rāṣṭrakūṭa help and later on fought on behalf of one of the aspirants to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa crown. As regards feudatories appointed to viceroyalties and governorship, we find a large number recruited from amongst them. The history of Gangavāḍi or Vanavāsi affords us a large number of such examples. Thus under Govinda III, Dosiraja ruled Vanavāsi while under the Cālukyas of Kalyan we find a large number of princes belonging to feudatory families ruling provinces like Vanavāsi. Prominent among these were mahāmāṇḍalesvaras and mahāmāṇḍalikas belonging to the Śilāhāras of Konkana, the Pāṇdyas, Rattas or the Kadambas. Under the same Cālukyas, we find also trusted ministers like Mahapradhāna Anantapāla or Govindarasa holding these high offices. Under the Yādavas of Devagiri we find many governors not belonging to the royal family. The most prominent of them were the governor appointed by Mahādeva to rule Konkana, while under Simhana, Bichu and Bechan ruled the south. Among the feudatory governors during the reign of Vikrama VI may be mentioned Kirtivarman Kadamba of Hangal, Munja of Sinda family, Satyadeva, Kalyāṇesvara of the Jimūtavāhana lineage, Dadhibhāṇḍaka Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Śāntivarman II Kadamba of

Hangal, Anantadeva Silahāra, Guvala (Kadamba of Goa) (Fleet D.K.D. 449-521) Pāṇḍya Tribhubanamalla of Gokarna, Udayāditya of the Western Ganges, Permaddi of the Jimūtavāhana line, and Acha Sinda in addition to feudatory princes who ruled their hereditary possessions. Later on, towards the close of Cālukya rule, the government of these provinces passed to Vijjala Kalacūrya who took the earliest opportunity of making himself independent.

A large part of a kingdom was in the hands of hereditary feudal rulers, some of whom maintained themselves by transferring their allegiance to a rising dynasty, while others raised themselves to feudatory position by their loyalty and devotion which enabled these founders of families to transmit the governmental office to their sons and grandsons.

Thus in each monarchy, a portion remained directly under the king, who appointed his relatives or trusted officials to rule remote districts, while the rest was in the hands of feudatories of various grades. Apart from these there were the Agrahāras, communes, and towns where local autonomy was often exercised by the elders, holders of privileges or corporations.

Feudatories of the Vakatakas.—The Vākāṭakas had their feudatories. At least one line has been found out, in the Ajanta Cave Ins. (Ar. S.W.I. IV) of which the names of princes from Dhritarāṣṭra, Harisāmba, Saurisāmba, Upendragupta, Kāca, Bhikṣudāśa, Niladāsa, Kāca II, Kṛṣṇadāsa and Ranasāmba have been recorded.

Deccan Feudatories under the Cālukyas and Rāṣṭrakūtas.—Under the Cālukyas and Rāṣṭrakūtas, the major part of their territories seems to have been in the hands of feudatories. First of all these, were the Raṭṭas who were the direct successors of the Mahārattis and Bhojas of the Andhra period; The Nalas of Nalamvadi in Vellari and Karnal who were put down repeatedly by the Cālukyas; the Maurya of Konkan with Puri as capital; the Sendrakas (Fleet D.K.D. p. 292) and the Kalaccuris. Other minor families also existed and probably the Cālukyas themselves originally held a small kingdom under the suzerian authority of some powerful kings.

Inscriptions bring to light many minor princes and feudatories. Thus from the Goa plates of Satyāśradya, we know of one Indravarman of the Beppana family (J.B.B.A.S. IX. Saka 532). Similarly we find another family, the Sendrakas to which Kirtivarman's uncle Sree Ballabha Senāngaraja belonged (Ep. Ind. III) and the Balagamve Kanarese Inscription mentions the feudatory mahārāja Pogilli belonging this Sendraka family (I.A. XIX). From two other inscriptions we know that the Āluva princes Satyavāha and his successors were feudatories under Vinayāditya (Sorab plates I.A. XIX, and Harihar plates, I.A., VII of Saka 614-616). The Adur Sanskrit and Kanarese inscriptions of Kirtivarman mentions a king Sinda of Pandipur and Madhavaṭi. From the main family small dynasties also arose. The I.A. XX mentions a Cālukya Parahita-rajā.

Feudatories of the Rastrakutas

The Rāṣṭrakūtas had innumerable feudatories, who

ruled their territories by hereditary right. Prominent among the feudatories were.

(a) *The Raṭṭas* who were probably descended from the local barons originally ruling Mahārāṣṭra and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas themselves were one of these families. (Kielhorn's list 75) Amoghavarṣa is called Atiśayadhavala of the Raṭṭa family of Laṭṭalūra. (For the Raṭṭas and their emblems see Ep. Ind. Vol. VII.) The Raṭṭa samantas were many and in one inscription, namely the Sanjan plates, they are said to have more than once risen in revolt. Their inscriptions are numerous and two lines appear to have been prominent namely, the Raṭṭa mahāsāmantas of Saundatti (Kielhorn's list no. 79 et seq.) and the Raṭṭas of Laṭṭalūra—of which the geneology is found in the inscriptions (Kielhorn's list nos. 141-268).

The Yādavas

In the northern region, in the so-called *Seuna* country, there existed the Yādavas, who for a long time remained a feudatory line but on the fall of the western Cālukyas of Kalyan they rose to independence and prosperity:

(b) The Śinda mahāmaṇḍalesvaras—(Kielhorn's list no. 144-151, See E.I. note E.I. XIV. 268) Some of these Śinda chiefs had their centre at Bhogavati; others describe themselves as lords of Karhād. Some of the Śindas called themselves Sindagovinda and Paṭalacakravartī while some call themselves lords of Ekasavargo. The Śindas gave the name to their principality Śindavāḍī.

(c) The Kadambas were probably connected with the Kadambas of Vanavāsi who had minor capitals at Palasika

(Halsi), Ucchasringi and Triparvata (Fleet D.K.D. p. 284). Some of these mähāmaṇḍalesvars ruled with capital at Goa while others took the title of Lords of Konkana. We have another line of Kadambas of Hangal (who however call themselves lords of Vanavāsi).

(d) The Pandyas of *Konkana*. } Kielhorn's list
 (e) Pandyas of Nalamvadi. } (nos. 212-252).

(f) The Śilāhāra princes calling themselves mahāmaṇḍalesvara and lords of Tagara and residing at Kolhapur (Kielhorn's list 325) and Bulvad (Kielhorn's 323). The Śilāras seem to have been established in a region once in hands of Mauryas of Puri and in Padmāvatī durga and Prāntaka durga. One Śilāra mahāsāmanta Pullasakti and his son Kapardin II describe themselves as lords of the whole Konkana (Kielhorn's Ins. nos. 72-72—I.A. Vol. XVIII). Krishna I entrusted Śanaphulla with south Konkana (D.K.D. 392). Some of these princes had mahāsāmantas under them and the Śilāras held sway from saka 930-1113. (See Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire boundaries, Fleet D.K.D. 382-83). In addition to these, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were overlords of the Āluvas and for some time of the W. Gangas. As the latter were weak princes, they had to submit to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas against the depredations of the Colas. Consequently they were subject allies or friendly dependents of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, with whom they had matrimonial relationship. In fact one inscription of Kongani Śivamāra speaks of the king being appointed by Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda and Pallava Nandivarman. Butuga II secured the throne with the help of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Baddega or Amoghavarsha II, married his daughter, helped Krishna III to gain

the throne against the usurper Lalliyam and fighting against the Colas at Takkola killed the Cola king. On account of this, he seems to have received from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas the principality of Vanavāsi 12000 and Belvola 300. There are stray references to other feudatories. Thus the Torkhed plates (Ep. Ind. III) speak of mahāsāmanta Buddhavarṣa, the Kairā Ins. speaks of mahāsāmanta Pracāṇḍa son of Dhavala. Several Cālukya families maintained themselves even after the fall of the Cālukyas of Badami (Fleet D.K.D. p. 38) and probably from one of these the Cālukyas of Kalyan rose. The prominent feudatories of the Cālukyas of Kalyan includes the Kadambas of Hangal and the Nolambas (Fleet D.K.D. p. 437), the Hoysālas ruling the territory between Konkan and Vadadavaya, the Raṭṭas of Saundatt, and Yādavas of Seuna.

Minor lines and tributaries of the Tamil country

In the extreme south, innumerable dynasties existed and ruled in various localities with varying fortunes, under powerful neighbour. Each dynasty had its heyday of glory, often succeeded by a period of dependence and often of political downfall. This struggle had been going on from early times. The Bāṇas and Gangas had risen to power in the west while the Ceras and Colas had made a bid for supreme power as well as the Pāṇḍyas. But for a time the Ceras, Colas and Pāṇḍyas had to submit to the Pallavas and on their downfall the Colas became the suzerain power. Ultimately, the Keralas became a ruling power in the extreme south-west, while, north of them the

Hoysālas established their authority after sanguinary wars with the Yādavas and others. Of the minor dynasties, the more important were the Nolambas (a branch of Pallavas), the Ganga-Pallavas and the Pāṇḍvas of Ucchangi.

In spite of vicissitudes of fortune, these dynasties existed for long periods and they gave their name to the localities where they ruled. Thus the Ganga territory came to be known as Gangavādī (96000). Similarly Nalambavādī (32000) and Ganga-nādu (6000).

The Nolambas.—Their line continued for a long time. They were under the Gangas, then under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, then successively under the Gangas and western Cālukyas and under the Colas.

The Ganga-Pallavas.—A minor feudatory family ruled in Ganga 6000, and had their capital at Nandigiri.

The Pandyas of Ucchangi.—Who claimed to have been mahāmaṇḍalesvaras and lords of Kāncīpura. They were feudatories of the Cālukyas, but were hard pressed by the Colas and ultimately became vassals of the Hoysālas.

Other minor feudatory families were the *Kerala princes* and the Pandyas who were repeatedly chastised by the Colas, the Kongalvas (ruling in Kongal-nad 8000) the Chandalvas (in Changanad).

Feudatories of the Gurjara-pratihāras and other dynasties of the North.

The feudatories under the Gurjara-pratihāras were numerous. The most prominent among these were:—

- (1) The Chandellas of Jejakabhukti, who afterwards

turned their arms against their overlord and with the help of the Kacchapaghātas killed Rājyapāla (For their allegiance see Khajuraho Ins. Ep. Ind. I).

(2) Near about Rajorgadh, there was another minor Pratihāra line, represented by Mahārājādhirāj Mahendrajāla

(3) The Devagarh Ins. throws light on another line of feudatories represented by mahāsāmanta Viṣṇurāma under Bhoja (Saka 784).

(4) *The Tomaras*.—The Pehoa Ins. of the reign of Mahendrapāla speaks of a line of Tomaras, who built a temple.

(5) Near about Siyodoni, we had different lines of feudatories, who bore the title of mahāsāmantādhipati. Three princes are known, namely, Guṇarāja, Uṇḍabhāṭa and Durbhāṭa. But another Siyodoni Ins. speaks of a mahārājādhirāja Niṣkalanka ruling Siyodoni (ref. E.I. I).

(6) Some of the Guhilot princes were feudatories of the Pratiharas, especially the line at Chatsu (See Chatsu Ins. I.A. XII). Śankaragaṇa was a great fighter in the cause of his overlord. (Bhoja?).

(7) The early Chāhamāna princes—from Guvaka to Sinharaja—who became greater by wresting the territory of the Tomaras (See Harsa Inscription I.A. 1913).

The dynasties which were the successors of the Pratihāra monarchy had also their feudatories.

Cālukyās of Gujarat.—Under them were several feudatory lines namely—(a) A *guhilot family of Mangrol* (under Kumārapāla) (b) Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Bapanadeva of Godrahaka. (c) The *Cāhamānas* of Nadāl—we have the

name of Alhanadeva). (d) The *Cāhamānas* Vaijalladeva of Brahmapāṭaka. (e) The *Paramāras* of *Candrāvati* we have reference to one māṇḍalika Dhāravarṣadeva and mahāmaṇḍalesvara Rājukula Soma-sinha. (f) Another line of mahāmaṇḍalesvaras were the *Rāṇakas* of *Mandali*. One of the princes was Sāmanta Sinha.

(g) The *Vodana* family of Nadol.—(I.A. 1912)—we have a prince Pratāpasinha of this line.

The feudatories of the Caṇḍellas included (a) The Kacchapaghāṭas of Gwalior—(b) and another line represented by mahārāṇaka Kumārapāla under the Candella Trailokyavarman.

Cedi Feudatories

(1) The most important Cedi feudatories were the Cedis of South Kośola with capital at Ratnapur. We have a large number of inscriptions belonging to these princes. There were minor vassals like Mahārāṇaka Kirtivarman of Kakkaredrika under Jayasinha or Bhogikapāla Nirihullaka under Śankargaṇa.

Gāhadavāla feudatories.—We have very little information about the Kanauj princes but the following feudatories are met with in the inscriptions.

(a) a line of feudatories of whom one was Rāṇaka Lavaṇappravāha.

(b) feudatory Singara Vatsarāja.

(c) The Rāṣṭrakūṭa line of Badaun represented by Madanapāla and Lakṣmanapāla.

(d) Probably also the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Magadha.

Feudatories of the Cāhamānas of Sambhara. They too had their feudatories but we have little details about them.

Paramāra feudatories.—We have very little reference to Paramāra feudatories. The most important feudatory line was that founded by Mahākumara Lakṣmīvarmanadeva son of Yaśovarman, near Bhopal. Lakṣmīvarman was a sāmanta.

There was a junior branch of the Paramāras at Vagada (Bhander. List no. 133).

Rights and privileges of feudatories.—Within their own territories, the feudatories enjoyed autonomous rule and exercised many of the functions of sovereign authority. A feudatory state was organised on the model of an independent monarchy and feudal princes had their own officials like the Sāndhivigrahika, amātya or Pratihāra. They ruled their territories without interference, administered justice, made gifts and land-grants, maintained armies and even issued edicts in their own name.

All this appear from the innumerable inscriptions of the feudatory princes many of whom held authority in their territories for continuous periods extending over two or three centuries. Of such lines may be mentioned the Raṭṭas, the Silāras, the Pāṇdyas of Konkana, the Nolamabas, and various other lines of the Deccan and the south, who maintained themselves by transferring their allegiance to the rising power of the day.

It was customary for them to put the names of their suzerains in their grants and inscriptions and sometimes the era which had been started by their suzerains. This was an universal custom and requires hardly any discussion. Many of the princes had separate crests and banners and we have already mentioned this. Feudatory princes

seem to have enjoyed the right of issuing their coins. This subject has not yet been carefully studied but we have no hesitation in stating that the right of issuing coins was an accepted principle at least during the earlier period. We have coins issued by many of the satraps jointly with their suzerains (Azes & Aspavarma, Gondophernes & Sasas, Gondophernes & Aspavarma, Whitehead, P.M.C. I. no. 130, 147, 150, 157, 159; see also pp. 166 for coins of Rañjubala, and Liaka). Coins were issued by the Andhra feudatories and we have specimens of those issued by a Mahārāṭhi (Rapson C.A.W.K. Coins pp. 57-59). Valabhi princes issued coins with the names of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta with their own Trident symbol in place of the peacock of the Guptas (J.R.A.S. 1893 p. 137, Rapson I.C. p. 25). Similarly they issued their bull type coins though bearing Gupta names (Allan p. CI). Coins bearing the words Sri Rana Hasti seem to have been issued by the Parivrājaka Hastin (Rapson p. 28, Cunningham—Coins of Mediæval India p. 8).

In lieu of the enjoyment of unmolested local authority within their territories, the feudatories were bound to pay tributes and customary dues, to attend important ceremonial occasions like the coronation of the overlord or the performance by him of Aśvamedha or other important sacrifices, and to render military help in times of need. We find very often the employment of feudatories against foreign enemies, or against rebels at home. The records of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Cālukyas of the Deccan as well as those of the Rajput kings speak of this.

Many such recorded instances are found in the

inscriptions. To mention a few, a Gupta feudatory lost his life in fighting for his overlord. Amoghavarṣa sent Bankesa to conquer the Ganga Racamalla (E.I. VI. p. 25 Rice p. 42). Butuga the friend and son-in-law of Amoghavarṣa fought against and defeated the Colās at Tukkola. The Gaṅga Māra Singha fought to restore the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra. The Hoysalas were employed against enemies by the Calukyas of Kalyan. The Paramāra feudatories fought against the enemies of their overlord (C. V. Vaidya, M.H.I. II). Such was the case with the great feudatories of the Pratihāras. The Calukya Bhīma sent his general the Paramāra Dharavarṣa against the Ghori who suffered a defeat.

But certain limitations were imposed on feudatories by the suzerain power. Probably these restrictions were on the lines of those suggested in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (Text 1st edition p. 308 Ch. on *Danḍopanata-vṛttam*). According to Kauṭilya:—

(1) Feudatories had to perform their stipulated agreements,

(2) they were to inform and invite their overlord on the occasion of new undertakings, the marriage of children or their inaugurations,

(3) they could not build fortresses without the overlord's permission,

(4) they could not hold communication with the ministers and high officials of the suzerain without his permission,

(5) they had to inform the overlord about the acquisition of new land,

(6) they had to inform him on the occasion of the outbreak of a revolt or an attack on them by another power,

(7) they had always to place themselves at the disposal of the lord and had to offer prayers for his good.

These were the restrictions imposed on them, but what were really observed is difficult to find out and feudatories did not always conform to the restrictions imposed on them by their overlords. We have instances of private war carried on by them sometimes with the connivance of overlords and sometimes in defiance of them. Thus even under Vikrama VI, we find private wars between feudatories.

Under the Pratihāras we find such instances. Thus, the Una inscription (I.A. IX p. 6) records a fight between the Cālukya Samanta Avanivarman and the Cāpa Dharanivaraha. Similarly the Terahi Ins. (I.A. XVII p. 202) records a fight between two feudatories of the Pratihāras namely Guṇarāja and Uṇḍabhāṭa.

They often exchanged territories and we have at least one instance of the sale of 12 villages by Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Munja to another feudatory of Vikramāditya (E.I. III No. 43).

Feudatories often strengthened themselves by marital alliances with the family of the overlord. We have many instances of such alliances from south Indian history especially the Cālukyas of Kalyan. The inauguration of a feudatory was attended by the overlord or his representatives. In the inscriptions of the Valabhi princes we have references to it as also in the history of other feudatory families.

All these however varied in the case of different grades of feudatories and in this respect at least three classes of feudatories may be recognized e.g. (a) feudatory lines subsisting from before the rise of the suzerain power but reduced to vassalage.

(b) Feudatory lines established by junior branches of a powerful dynasty (like the Paramāra Mahākumāra line and the junior Cedi line of Ratnapura).

(c) Feudatories of creation.

As regards the first two, we need not say anything. Feudatory lines of the first category were numerous like the Kadambas, the Pallavas, or the Gaṅgas. These were once independent powers or offshoots of them but had to submit to powers like the Rāṣṭrakūṭas or Colas.

As regards the feudatories of creation, we have many such instances though inscriptional accounts are rather meagre and whatever information we have, mostly comes from the south. But though few in number, inscriptions throw much light on the relation between overlord and feudatory and the grant of fiefs on condition of military help. Such feudal grants are found in the South Indian inscriptions. Thus in E.I. vol. I, we find a grant of 750 villages to a chief by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa. Another inscription in E.I. VI e.g. the Atakur grant of Kṛṣṇa II speaks of conferring the Banavasi 12000 on Butuga for military help. The conferring of land for military help is also proved by another inscription of Butuga who as reward for help, received not only the Banavasi 12000, but the Belvola 300. The Konnu Ins. (E.I. VI.) speaks of a prince, Bankesa-raja who enjoyed 30000 villages under

Amoghavarṣa. Feudatories in their turn granted villages to subordinates and as instances we have the grant of 12 villages by Eryappa to Uruga who commanded a force of Nagarattas. Similarly Butuga granted the Atakur 12 to a subordinate Mānalera, with the ceremony of laying his sword. (E.I. III Atakur Ins. of Krisna). In the Yādava records we find the grant of 32 villages to Acyutanāyaka, (E.I. XIII) while in northern India we have at least one instance of a grant of a village to the family of a deceased warrior (Garrah plate E.I. XVI) by the Candella Trailokyavarman. In the extreme south, the grant of military fiefs (raktakodagi) were common (See Rice—Mysore and Koorg).

Ordinary people who were also granted lands and privileges, rose to prominence and became governors or feudatories. We have some instances from south Indian history. The Ablur inscriptions (E.I. V) of Vikramaditya VI speaks of the gradual promotion of one of his official. One of them Ranāṅgaṇabhairava Govinda became mahā-sāmāntādhipati, mahāpradhāna, mahādaṇḍanāyaka and governor of Banavasi. Sometimes not merely villages but other rights, titles and honours were conferred as we find in the South Indian inscriptions. Thus one inscription (I.A. VIII) speaking of the victories of Vira Nolamba, confers on Maroseṭhi, who had killed Kulva-raya, an umbrella, planquin, an escort, a throne and eight other rights. Similarly the Belatora Ins. of Rajendra Cola, mentions the rise of a śūdra to the position of a māṇḍalika though for some fault of his he was killed and his wife became sati. Sometimes minor rights and privileges were also granted.

The Taki plates (E.I. VI 35) of Rajendra Chodaganga conferred on some family, the right to receive betels from a gold plate.

The extent of territory conferred on feudatories or enjoyed by them of course varied. Sometimes they ruled big tracts. We have inscriptions (E.I. VI) proving that a mahamāndaleśvara Ketaraja ruled 6000 villages. In another we find a Cola feudatory ruling 6000 villages. While we have two other inscriptions the first of which (E.I. VI 26) mentions a feudatory Buddharaja enjoying 73 villages under the E. Cālukyas while in another a mahāmāndaleśvara ruled only 30 villages under his suzerain Vikrama VI of Kalyan.

Tendencies of feudal princes.—Feudal princes however were generally dissatisfied with their subordinate position and always tried to assert independence. Many of the founders of the great dynasties of the Deccan or the South were in origin feudal princes. Thus Bhaṭārka the progenitor of the Maitrakas of Valabhi was only a senāpati. Gradually his successors assumed the higher title of mahārāja and afterwards assumed the styles and titles of independence. The early Cālukyas were minor princes who seized sovereign power from the Kalacuryas. Their successors, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had been kept in check by the Cālukyas and had been their feudatory but Dantidurga established sovereign power. Such in turn was also the case with the Cālukyas of Kalyan. Later dynasties like the Hoysālas of Dvārasamudra or the Yādavas of Devagiri as well as the Kākatiyas or the Colas in the South, and the Candellas, Cahamānas or Paramāras of North India were

also feudatories. As soon as their suzerain power became weak, the able founders of the greatness of these dynasties asserted their independence, enlarged their dominions and made themselves important by successful wars and conquests.

This tendency to revolt is noticeable throughout the history of India from the time of the Andhras to the Mussalman conquest. It was so great that the suzerain power had always to remain on the alert and to wage wars to put down rebellious vassals. Southern princes often took summary vengeance on a defeated vassal, who had dared to revolt. We have stories of feudatories being imprisoned in the Calukya records while the Cola records repeatedly speak of cruel punishments being inflicted on rebellious Kerala and Pāṇḍya princes.

Acknowledged Feudal gradation.—The greater feudatories had vassal princes under them and these in their turn ruled by hereditary right. The terms on which they maintained themselves were similar to those enforced on their own overlords. This gradation of ruling authority is an important principle in the administrative and political history of Hindu India; so much so that powerful monarchies like that of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, kept only a part of their territories directly under them leaving the rest in the hands of feudal princes. As we pass on towards the age of Mussalman conquest we find the multiplication of feudal families and vassals of various grades, with various titles. Towards the close of Hindu political supremacy we have an almost universally acknowledged feudal gradation in the Sukranīti. This gradation com-

bined with inscriptional records gives us the following list of feudatories in a rising scale of power and authority:—

Sāmanta

Mahāsāmanta

{ Māṇḍalika
 { Mahāmāṇḍalika
 { Māṇḍalesvara
 { Mahāmāṇḍalesvara

Rāja

Mahārāja

Rajādhirāja

Mahārājādhiraj

Paramabhaṭṭāraka

Cakravartin

The Sukraniti gives us the following grade:—

				Revenue in Karsas	
				lacs	lacs
Sāmanta	...	...	...	1	3
Māṇḍalika	...	...	...	3	10
Rāja ...	...	...	...	10	20
Mahārāja	...	...	...	20	50
Svarāt	...	...	...	50	106
				Crores	Crores
Samrāt	...	...	...	1	10
Virāt ...	...	...	...	10	50

Sarvabhūma or universal monarch

The inscriptions throw more light on these feudatories and their titles and grades.

At first the feudal gradation was simpler. The

greater feudatories of the Gupta period directly under the monarch assumed the title of Mahārāja (with their wives calling themselves Mahādevī). Below these were the Sāmantas or Sāmantādhipatis, but they were probably entirely dependent on the king and were of no consequence. It was during the turmoil succeeding the Hūṇa invasion and the final disruption of the Gupta monarchy that the number and gradation of feudatories were multiplied.

In the Deccan, even under the Andhras, feudatories like the mahārathis and mahābhōjas existed. On the fall of the Andhra monarchy, these mahārathis or raṭṭas became more important, while in the different localities, new families consolidated local sovereign authority under paramount dynasties like the Cālukyas, Rāṣtrakūtas and the western Cālukyas.

In the Tamil country, independent chiefs and dynasties like the Kerala princes, the Pāṇdyas and Colas were reduced to the position of vassals by the Pallavas. The Ganges and Bāṇas underwent fluctuations in fortune and when the Colas became the suzerain power, they reduced their defeated rivals to the position of feudatories.

From the inscriptions we find various styles and titles assumed by the feudatories. Some called themselves sāmantas, other maṇḍaleśvaras, other assumed the title of Rājā and Mahārāja while several feudatories of Gurjara-Pratihāras called themselves Mahārājadhirāja, only refraining from assuming the style of independence and paramountcy viz. Paramabhāṭṭāraka and Cakravartin. Thus, among the Gurjara-Pratihara feudatories we find

Mathanadeva of Rajorgadh calling himself Mahārāja-adhirāja and the same title is assumed by Niśkalanka, and Durbhaṭa governing Siyodoni while we have two feudatories mahāsāmanta Viṣṇurāmā and Uṇḍabhaṭa remaining satisfied with the lesser title.

Feudatories had also other titles. The Cāhamāna Alhanadeva of Nadul called himself a mahārāja while the Paramāra princes of Candrāvṭi (vassals of the Cālukyās of Gujarat) called themselves māṇḍalika, mahāmāṇḍaleśvara or Rājakula (193, 209, 210). The Cāhamānas of Bhinmal called themselves mahārājaputra and mahārājakula, while many princes assumed the title of Rāṇaka or mahārāṇaka (Kielhorn's no. 140, 186, 218, 83, 210, 225, 218, 419). We have at least one prince calling himself Bhogīkapāla (Nirihalluka) no. 429. A Cāhamāna feudatory calls himself Adhirāja (Bha. List 341). The terms Rājakula, Mahārājakula, Rāṇaka and Mahārāṇaka have given rise to the modern titles of Rāwal, Mahārāwal, Rāṇa and Mahārāṇā.

The feudatories of the Deccan like the Raṭṭas, Sindas, Kadāmbas of Goa, Pāṇdyas of Konkana remained satisfied with the title of mahāsāmanta, mahāsāmantadhipati or mahāmāṇḍaleśvara. Some of the Kadāmbas called themselves "lord of Konkana"; other assumed the title of "lord of Banavāsi" while other princes assumed the title of mahāsāmantadhipati, mahāmāṇḍaleśvarādhipati or Konkana-Cakravartin.

Evolution of Rajput Feudalism.—As time went on, the number of feudatories multiplied and the innumerable princelings and chiefs consolidated their authority. The

continuous warfare of the period did much to strengthen this principle.

The organisation of the Rajput fighting aristocracy marked the last phase of the Socio-political change fraught also with great economic consequences. The Rajput septs which in course of time rose to the traditional number of thirty-six, gradually established themselves in different localities and imposed their authority over a subject population of husbandmen, traders and lower grade workmen. Districts and subdivisions came to be assigned to great leaders and their kinsmen, each one of these being called upon to fight for the overlord in times of war. Gradually, the hereditary principle operated and the smallest holders claiming kinship with the Rajput rulers became the owners of the soil with the right and privilege of fighting leaving all work of production to the peaceful subject. Brahmins, Priests and traders maintained themselves by obtaining grants and privileges or by forming associations or guilds for self-defence. The people at the bottom were called upon to do service to their masters who gradually asserted their rights to tribute and service, to which new imposts and obligations in course of subsequent ages were added. The chief characteristics of the system in vogue in Rajputana have been described by Todd in *Rajasthan* (Vol I, Chapter on the Feudal system of Rajputana). Though conditions differed in the various provinces and principalities the following points are worthy of note:—

(1) Each Rajput king had under him, a number of chiefs, each bound by ties of fidelity and service and com-

manding a specified number of soldiers in the field supplied by him.

(2) The chiefs holding grants from the king (Puttawats) had their distinctive badges, crests and banners and in some cases (Chief of Salumbra) the right of coining silver, and even the right of leading the van of the army or acting as Regent in the absence of the king.

These vassal chiefs held lands sufficient for their maintenance (Grasia—from Gras-maintenance) and had to perform unrestricted military services at home and abroad. But there was another class (the Bhoomin) who held by prescriptive possession, paid an annual quit rent and did local service.

(3) The vassal was obliged to attend the court of his master, to accompany his master in hunt and war and to give himself as a hostage or his life in war for his master.

(4) The tenant was subject to the laws of relief and forfeiture but these laws gradually lost their force and in many localities fiefs were held in perpetuity.

(5) According to the strict rule, land could not be alienated without the consent of the king, but this gradually broke down.

(6) The king claimed the wardship of the minors and his permission was required for the marriage of vassals.

(7) Vassals were required to render aids, like contributions in times of a marriage of the lord's daughter.

(8) The vassal clan leader however, was a full master within his limits. He could subdivide the land, make provisions for his children leaving an estate sufficient for maintaining the rites and ceremonies of the clan. These

in turn were subdivided. Families added to their fortunes by new acquisitions and thus Bhayads were established. The smallest chief was the owner of a Chursa or "knight's fee." The clansmen looked upon him as their leader and would fight for him even against the king as was the practice in France or the continent.

This system was of gradual evolution. As we know from the Arthaśāstra, the grant of land for military service (Āyudhiyaka villages) was known in ancient India and even in the days of the Arthaśāstra kings levied Senābhakta, or subsistence for troops. In times of war and anarchy chiefs and sub-chiefs multiplied, and gradually custom and time helped in evolving a system of landholding on condition of military service. Minor princes saved themselves by submitting to such conditions of service. In course of time, the fighting brotherhood multiplied, and thus with military service and time-honoured incidents and customs a feudal system arose.

Todd, the historian of the Rajputs, made an investigation into the incidents of this so-called feudal system of Rajputana. To a western observer this system of landholding on condition of military service, the gradation of landholders with peculiar privileges and rights and with incidents similar to those existing in many countries of Europe, appeared to be really feudal, and in the absence of a better word to designate the system we may also use the same expression. But there were many inherent differences.

First of all, in India it was never fully accepted that all lands belonged to the king.

Secondly, land enjoyed by the Rajput clans and individual leaders remained completely vested in them and passed by hereditary descent. There were no hard and fast laws of escheat and confiscation on misconduct or at the will of the lord.

Thirdly, the members of a Rajput sub-clan looked to their own leader as their overlord and these clan-lords claimed social equality with the king.

Rajput feudalism was thus a sort of clan feudalism and bore a close resemblance to those organisations of Keltic Ireland or of the Highlands.

Government of Localities

As we have said, provinces were divided into smaller units, namely, (a) Small districts, (b) Towns and (c) Villages. The name and organisation of such smaller divisions varied in the different parts of India.

(1) In Eastern India—there were the Viṣayas (subdivisions of the *Bhuktis*) ruled by Viṣayapatis. Viṣayas were composed of a number of villages as we know from the Pala and Sena inscriptions. Smaller districts had their governors like the rulers of Maṇḍalas or Viṣayas or village-groups as we know from the Damodarapura inscriptions. Within the jurisdiction of such local officials who were either Sāmantas or royal officers there was an Adhiṣṭhāna or Adhikaraṇa which was presided over by the local official and where justice was administered by the local judge. Within the locality police, pickets or military outposts existed and minor officials like the Daṇḍanāyakas, Daṇḍapāśikas, Gokulikas, Gaulmikas and Śaulkikas, in addition

to the moving spies, collected royal dues, apprehended criminals or discharged their other duties. Under them there were the menials like the Cāṭas and Bhaṭas or the Khaṣas, Karṇāṭas and Mālavas who were so called because they were recruited from the mercenary adventurers of these localities of India.

(2) In Western India there were such small divisions --Maṇḍalas or village groups, sometimes called Pathakas subdivided into Paṭṭalās, and occasionally we find village groups of 3, 6, 12, 24 etc., the village being the smallest unit. A Malwa grant speaks of a Prati-Jāgaraṇaka.

(3) In the Deccan the units were the subdivisions of the Rāṣṭras called Viṣayas which were composed of village groups while individual villages were the smallest units.

(4) In Tamil India a number of villages (*Urus*) and townships (*Pārus*) constituted the smallest division of the *Nadus* or *Nads* (or Taluks). Kottamas and Pallas were separated. This type of organisation lasted till the days of the Vijayaynagar kings. Districts were often designated by the name of the chief village or town in them. The area or size of a *Nad* varied. Sometimes *Nads* were designated by the number of villages in them and the area was determined by the natural boundaries like high roads, rivers canals etc. Many of the biggest units, as we have shown, were called by the name of the chief town or the number of villages in them. The *Nadus* survived in Kanara, Malabar and in Tamil country proper.

(5) The Kanarese districts had a peculiar organisation of their own though similar to those of the Tamil country. Under the Calukyas of Kalyan village groups or *Nads* had

an organisation of their own. Over each of such groups were the officials, e.g.,

1. Mane-vergadde (household-master)
2. Nad-pergadde (commissioner of a county).

The Nad-pergadde was assisted by a number of officials. The Sudi inscriptions (no. D.) mentions the names of these (E.I. XV). We find from it that the village group of Kisukad 70, was ruled by a Manevergadde who was assisted by—

1. Two Tantrapālas (Councillors or assessors).
2. A Pradhāna.
3. An Aliya (Secretary to the Council).
4. A Nad-pergadde.

Villages or village-groups had a Mayor (Ur-odeya) over them, while in each village there was a village accountant who was called in Kanara Śana-bhoga. [E.I. XIII, XV Sudi Ins., Kaleswar, XVI Ablur, XIX Kablan, Gadag].

Local Government

Having briefly described the administrative officials and divisions of the various parts of Northern and Southern India, we pass on to discuss the government of the smallest divisions namely the Communes, Towns and Villages. As is well known to the students of Indian History, the smallest units were practically managed by the local inhabitants though minor officials represented royal authority and exacted royal dues. Local self-government in India was fostered by a number of causes. First of all, villages all along enjoyed autonomy from almost the Vedic times. These were hardly disturbed by the great rulers

who attempted to establish Imperial authority during subsequent periods. Even the Mauryas who carried their interference to the minutest details of government allowed these village communities to subsist, and the author of the great *Arthaśāstra* not only advocated their retention but also strengthened them by fostering co-operative undertakings in local matters and by checking disobedience to local authority on the part of refractory individuals. Secondly, after the fall of the Mauryas none of the governments established in the different provinces of India thought of carrying their interference too far while constant wars and turmoils forced the localities themselves to assume local burdens and to discharge local functions.

The village community subsisted throughout the whole of India though its character differed in the great divisions of the country. In the North and in parts of the Deccan the village community was more of an administrative and social unit than an almost perfect socio-economic communal institution as we find in Tamil India. In the North the village managed its own affairs under the *Grāmaṇi* and later on under the *Grāmika*. The mediæval designation of this village chief was—

- (a) *Paṭṭakīla* in the Malwa region.
- (b) *Grāmapati* or *Grāmika* in Hindustan.
- (c) *Grāmakūṭa* in the Deccan. From *Paṭṭakīla* the present word *Patel* has been derived while *Grāmakūṭa* has been corrupted into the modern *Gamot*. In some inscriptions we find mention of the *Mahattara*. The name subsists in the present *Mhātre* in Konkan. Under the headman were the *Pañch* or the five officials of the village.

of which we find a glowing account in Sabhāparvan Chapter V. These officials were the Samāhartā, the Sam-vidhātā, the Gaṇaka, the Lekhaka and the Sākṣī. Royal officials like the Gopas of the Arthaśāstra collected taxes, checked accounts and superintended groups of villages from five to a hundred and sometimes to a thousand. If we are to believe in the Smṛti literature, especially Manu and Yājñavalkya, the royal officials over 10,100 or 1000 villages were maintained by grants of lands and occasional dues. The village elders administered justice in minor cases, regulated the use of pasture lands, maintained the educational and pious foundations and put down crimes within their jurisdiction. Practically the same system continued throughout the whole of Northern India. They also regulated the remunerations of the mechanics and artisans attached to the villages. The admission of outsiders into the village was also in their hands and the uncultivated lands belonging to the village was also under their charge.

Types of Villages.—As to villages various types existed like those of the time of the Arthaśāstra. That book mentions villages which either formed part of the royal demesne, or were Āyudhiyakas (held on military tenure).

(a) Some villages were managed by their owners to whom they had been given as Agrahāras by the king. Such grants of Agrahāras are numerous in the history of India.

(b) Villages were sometimes granted to the temples of local gods and were ruled by the local people.

(c) Towards the close of the Hindu period villages came to be granted to military officers either in lieu of past

service of a leader deceased or in lieu of a promise of furnishing military help.

(d) Last of all there were the ordinary villages directly under the king's officials and some of which formed the king's demesne.

In regard to the first and the third type of villages nothing need be said. The grantee or his family exercised jurisdiction therein, and as a rule the grant of a village was accompanied by the grant of other attendant privileges, e.g.,

- (a) Fiscal and revenue immunities, namely the non-payment of ordinary taxes to the king, the right to requisitions and the acquisition of everything by accession etc.
- (b) Exemption from the entry of royal officials—menials and soldiers (like Cāṭa, Bhaṭa, Mālava and Karpāṭa) and from military requisitions.
- (c) Endowment with lower criminal and civil jurisdiction.

Such grants were made, as we know, for all times in the future, and in some inscriptions it is laid down that the gift was made for a period "as long the sun and the moon endure" Kings making such grants called upon their successors of the same family or of new dynasties not to violate their grants since the religious merit arising out of gift of land go to reigning princes, while the annulment of grants was associated with the worst sufferings in after life.

Village Administration of Bengal.—So far as Bengal is concerned very little information is furnished by the ins-

criptions of which only a few have come down to us. The following inscriptions are important :—

- (1) The Faridpore grants, edited by Pargitar.
- (2) The Amgachi grant of Vigrahapāla (E.I. III).
- (3) The Ghugrahati Copper Plate of Samācāradeva.
- (4) Tippara Copper Plate grant of Lokanātha (E.I. XVIII).
- (5) The Damodarapore Copper Plate inscription (E.I. XV. R. G. Basak).

From these we know that the village-elders participated in village affairs. In the inscription of Samācāradeva we find a grant of land after consultation with the village people at the instance of Damuka, the judge. The locality was the village Nayabyasika in Borakamaṇḍala; Jivadatta was the governor of the Maṇḍala while under him was the officer Pavitraka. A Brahmin, Supratika-svāmin, approached the judge for a piece of land, and thereupon Dāmuka consulted the elders, six of whom are mentioned by name.

From the Damodarapore Plates it appears that villages were within the jurisdiction of Viṣayapatis and had Grāmikas or Headmen appointed over them. In addition to these there were many other officials and many people of position whose opinions were sought in all important matters. Prominent among these were :—

- (a) Mahattaras
- (b) Pustapālas
- (c) Kāyasthas
- (d) Aṣṭa-Kulādhikaraṇas

in addition to his board of advisers.

Villages in the Extreme South

In the extreme South and in the Tamil country generally the village was something more than a mere administrative unit. Here the village elders not only exercised administrative functions but also managed the economic resources of the locality. Under this system the village turned to become a self-sufficient, co-operative republic. Many villages were cultivated by the men of the locality jointly. The Cola records give us detailed accounts of such village governments and the working of the village assembly. Some of the South Indian Inscriptions give us details about the constitution of village assemblies, the qualifications for membership, the work entrusted to them and the grounds for exclusion from these bodies. It will be out of place to describe here all these things in detail, and we refer our readers to the two works of Dr. Krishnaswamy Iyengar, e.g., "Ancient India and the Sketches of Ancient Deccan."

We find in some localities the existence of communal ownership of lands or the periodic distribution of lands among villagers. In this respect the custom of Kariyad is worthy of our attention (Ind. Ant. III). According to one authority, the land in Tanjore district was divided into (a) *Samudāyam* or communally owned, (b) *Pallabhogyam*, (c) *Ekabhogam* or owned in perpetual ownership by individuals. Land of the second category was annually redistributed. In each block of villages, a headman was elected. In the Malabar District communal cultivation still subsists in some villages. The Maratha village under Sivaji and the Peshwas was self-supporting

and had a large number of officials, menials and artisans for its internal administration as well as for the maintenance of social life.

Town Government.

↓ The government of towns was entrusted to special administrators. In the *Arthaśāstra*, we find, *Nāgarakas* ruling cities, or if the area was a big one, a quarter of it. They had multifarious duties to perform, and these included the preservation of peace, employment of spies, the collection of tolls and royal dues, the issue of passports, chastisement of wrong-doers, the maintenance of sanitary regulations, the control fire and the collection of information regarding the number and incomes of the inhabitants. In the cities of the ancient and mediæval period they had also to control the market, announce the hours of the day by the sound of trumpets, and had to close the gates after dusk. They thus combined magisterial jurisdictions with various other functions. There were judges in all important cities and there were *Adhikarāṇas* or *Adhiṣṭhānas* for the administration of justice. The *Aśoka* Inscriptions refer to the *Nagaraviyohālakas*, but we know very little about their functions. We have only a few references to the administrative machinery of towns in mediæval India and on this subject some light is thrown by the *Siyodoni* inscriptions and an inscription which describes the government of *Gopādrī*. *Gopādrī* was ruled (*E.I.* Vol. I. 20) under *Bhoja* *Pratihāra* by a council of five. The prominent members of the board were the commandant of the *Koṭṭaka*, *Alla*, *Tatṭaka*, the commander of the army, a merchant and two

other members. Similar information is obtained in regard to the government of Vaisāli. In the Damodarapore Inscription we find towns governed by the Kumārāmātya, assisted by the Nagaraśreṣṭhī, the Prathamakulika, the Sārthavāha, and the Kāyastha, and by some other officials.

But while these towns remained under the direct government of royal officials, there were other towns and cities of which the administration was entrusted to popular bodies. Municipalities and popular corporations took the place of the royal officials in these and we have ample evidences to prove their existence from Smṛti works as well as from inscriptions. The number of inscriptions is not very considerable, but they go to confirm the evidence supplied by the Smṛtis. From time immemorial there existed in India organisations and associations of the Pauras and Jānapadas in civic and rural areas. In Nigamas or market towns such associations and guilds came into existence and various types of guilds devoted their attentions to commercial and industrial pursuits. At one time these Śreṇis and Saṅghas which had commercio-political objectives were dreaded by the kings. But probably after the downfall of the Mauryas, when the policy of centralisation came to be discarded more or less, corporate organisations came to establish themselves in important local areas. In course of time the number of these multiplied. Sometimes a guild or a corporate body strengthened its position by obtaining legal sanction from the king of the locality, and came to be vested with important civic privileges and functions. In some other cases, a benevolent

prince, convinced of the inability of royal officials to minister to the complete well-being of his subjects, voluntarily granted a charter to a body of Brāhmanas or influential merchants endowing them with a large number of important civic privileges.

Before we go on to discuss the evidence at our disposal we must point out the amount of importance attached to these co-operative associations in later Smṛti works as well as in the Nibandhas, in the chapter known as *Samvedyatikrama*. The Smṛti works which devote more attention to this subject are those of Yājñavalkya, Brhaspati, Katyāyana and Nārada. They make a clear distinction between the corporations established by the king which is described as *Rājakṛtasamvit*. The other kind of corporation recognised by these writers was the *Samūha-kṛtasamvit*. In the case of the *Rājakṛtasamvit* the initiative came from the king or royal officials as would appear from the following passages of Yajuavalkya and Brhaspati:—

राजाह्वय पुरे स्थानं ब्राह्मणाशस्य तल तु ।
 तैविदान् श्रुतिमत् ब्रूयात् स्वधर्मः पाल्यतामिति ॥
 वेदविद्याविदो विप्रान् श्रोत्रियानग्निहोत्रिणः ।
 सतक्रुत्य स्थापयेत् तल तेषां वृत्रिं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
 अनाच्छेदकरास्तेषां प्रदद्यात् गृहभूमयः ।
 भुक्तभाव्यान् वृषतिर्लोकयित्वा स्वशासने ॥

The duties generally entrusted to them were multifarious and included the protection of the grazing ground and water-courses, repairs to temples and places of public worship, feeding of the poor and helpless outsiders and even the control over exports to foreign countries and to

see that the safety of the state might not be endangered. According to the Viramitrodaya the lands and quarters entrusted to them were not liable to taxation, the corporation alone being empowered to assess taxes and to appropriate them. In regard to the Samūhakṛtsamudāyas these were instituted by the people of a particular locality with the permission and sanction of the king. They entered into agreement amongst themselves, and generally these were in writing. Members were morally and legally bound to follow the local regulations, and the functions exercised by them included, according to Brhaspati quoted by Viramitrodaya, (a) maintenance and repair of public halls, tanks, water-courses and gardens; (b) maintenance of temples, places of public gathering and religious worship; (c) feeding and maintenance of the poor and the destitute; (d) excavation and stoppage of water-courses; and (e) probably also the making of arrangements for local protection in times of apprehended danger.

From other passages it appears clearly that the executive business of controlling these corporations was entrusted to *Kāryacintakas* who numbered generally from four to five. These corporations seemed to have been entrusted with the right of collecting taxes and had a common fund of their own; they could raise loans and there was a common liability to pay these off. The king generally had not the legal right to interfere in their affairs. But he could intervene if there were factions fighting among themselves or when there was a quarrel between the *Kāryacintakas* or *Mukhyas* and the ordinary members.

They enjoyed a number of immunities and had the right of exporting and importing goods without government sanction as well as the levying of local duties to fill their own coffers.

Unfortunately while these passages clearly indicate the existence of such corporate bodies, we have very little of inscriptional details until and unless we come to the most recent period of Hindu rule. The evidences, moreover, are obtainable mostly from Southern India, especially from the Kanarese districts. One of the earliest references to such is in the Nasik Cave Inscription, and it expressly mentions that the endowment made therein was registered in the Town Hall (*Nigamasabhā*; E.I. VIII, pages 82-88). During the Gupta period we hear of a guild of weavers exercising authority in the Daśapura city, and they not only excelled in the arts of peace but maintained local independence and kept a fighting force of their own.* While these are of interest to us as proving the existence of corporations we have a number of inscriptions from the South and more especially from the Kanarese districts where these bodies seem to have maintained a vigorous existence for a long time. One important inscription, the Lakṣmeśvara grant of the Yuvarāja Vikramāditya of the Vātāpi Čalukyas, refers to a municipal charter granted to the *Mahājanas* (Brāhmaṇas) and the eighteen Prakṛtis. The king's officers were to protect constitutional usages and

* The treatises on the art of government including the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Mahābhārata* refer repeatedly to *śrenībala* or troops (militia) furnished by corporations.

local customs while the householders were to pay a fixed tax in Vaiśakha. Certain guilds were to pay specified sums. Another inscription at Managauli of Vijjala mentions the Prabhu and Mahājanas of an Agrahāra, under the local official the Daṇḍanāyaka. The same (c and d) mentions the name of the Mahāprabhus of four towns. The Nilgunda inscription (E.I. VI) records the assignment of a tax upon clarified butter for communal purposes. Similarly E.I. VI, 24 refers to the assignment of taxes to Mahājanas for communal purposes. The Sudi Inscription describing the administration of the Kasukad Seventy refers to the grant of a charter to eight *Śreṣṭhins* and eighty householders. The place suffered from the invasion of the Colas, and the charter had to be renewed. According to the same inscription the people were freed from all imposts and paid a fixed land rent, and they were entrusted with certain judicial rights. In another inscription, the Anavaj Stone Inscription, of Sāraṅgadeva, we have an endowment for the worship of God Kṛṣṇa, and grants are made at the instance of (a) the *Pañch*, (b) the Purohitas or Brahmins, (c) the Mahājanas, Sādhus, goldsmiths, the Vanijyakas and the Nauvithikas or ship-owners. The Gadag Inscription, (I.A. XV.) refers to the thousand Mahājanas of the Lakṣmiguṇḍi area headed by the sheriff. The Huli Plates (E.I. XVIII) refer to the Mayor of Puli (Ur-udaya) and the Puli thousand. The Parunayial Inscription (E.I. XVIII) refers to the four assemblies and the temple administration by the Yagam or the corporation. Two Inscriptions from Kolhapur (E.I. XIX) refer to a corporation of five-hundred of the

city of Aiyavole. While these refer to municipal guilds and corporations, we have a large number of inscriptions which refer to the assignment of taxes for communal purposes as well as the royal grant of charters to local people.

The subject is a vast one and of great interest and requires an extensive study by scholars. In the South guilds and temples often took over many important social duties, but it will be out of place to go into the subject in detail. Those who are interested in the subject are referred to W. Hopkins' *"India Old and New"* as well as to Dr. R. K. Mookerjee's *"Local Government in India."**

REVENUE AND TAXATION

We pass on next to the important subject of taxation and revenue administration in India. The subject is a vast and complicated one, and we are bound to proceed very cautiously. India is a vast country and its different provinces had their local customs as well as different sources of income. In different localities immemorial custom had more or less fixed the dues to be paid to the sovereign. In course of time these were recognised by the authors of the *Dharmasūtras* and *Dharmaśāstras*. The authors of these works tried to lay down uniform rules in regard to the taxes payable by subjects. But even then

* The first to enquire into the constitution and organisation of the municipal bodies in India was the late Pundit Rai Rajendra Chandra Sastri Bahadur whose paper on *'Municipal Institutions in Ancient India'* was published during the closing decade of the last century (1898).

they had to recognise the variation of important items in different localities, though they are not clear on this point.

In course of time royal power grew and the king came to be vested with innumerable fiscal privileges. Gradually when the theorists of the Arthaśāstra school arose they did much to strengthen the hands of the king and added to the number of imposts levied by him. The empire of the Nandas and Mauryas extended over a large part of India, and after their downfall their exactions were continued, and their fiscal policies were more or less continued by their successors of other dynasties. In the South the local rulers had their own taxes and imposts, and in course of time the ideas of the North were borrowed and the taxes were multiplied.

The Vedic Age.—In the earliest Vedic period the king was maintained by contributions from his subjects, and thus arose the *Bali* which is referred to in the R̥gveda. In addition to these, he had a share of the booty received in war, and gradually he became entitled to a share in villages, kine and some other items (Atharvaveda IV. 22).

By the time of the early Jātakas and the Dharmasūtras there was a great revolution in the fiscal policy of the Hindu monarchies. In the Jātakas we find the king not only enjoying a share of

- (a) the produce of fields which was realised by the king's officials, after it had been measured by the Droṇamāpaka (See Kāma-jātaka and Kurudharma-jātaka)
- (b) Toll on merchandise
- (c) Excise duty on liquor (chāṭikāhāpana)

- (d) Judicial fines
- (e) Treasure-troves
- (f) Property without heir:—the rule was not very hard and fast, and unrighteous kings even claimed to seize the property of Brāhmaṇas and Purohitas as well as lost articles (Jātaka Vol. IV. pp. 348, 485-486)
- (g) Occasional Taxes and dues like the *khiramūla* or milk contribution paid to a king on the birth of his heir
- (h) Booty received in war
- (i) Contributions and payments made by lower class artisans and workmen.

When we pass on to the Dharmasūtras we find not only the theory that the king was entitled to a share of the productions of his subjects' labour which was in lieu of his protection, but also the main items of taxation clearly laid down. According to the Dharmasūtra writers the chief items of taxation were—

- (a) A share of the produce of lands. The exact share is not laid down, but it varied from $\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{1}{6}$ according to Gautama. In the Mahabharata it was $\frac{1}{6}$ (Santi. Ch. LXVII Gau. X. 24).
- (b) Tax on cattle and gold (cash?) $\frac{1}{50}$ we do not know whether it was a tax proper or capital levy.
- (c) Toll on merchandise
- (d) Tax on meat, honey, clarified butter, herbs, flowers, roots, skins etc. etc. etc. $\frac{1}{6}$ of these.
- (e) Ferry dues
- (f) Treasure-troves and lost articles without owners

(g) Judicial fines

(h) Properties of people dying without heir except in the case of Brāhmaṇas. Exemptions were granted to those deriving their livelihood from rivers, forests and hills by Vaśiṣṭha, though he is not supported by other writers.

The Arthaśāstra.—From the Dharmasūtras we pass on to the Arthaśāstra, and here we meet with a large number of taxes and imposts hitherto unknown. Probably under the Śaiśunāgas and the Nandas great changes had been introduced, and kings of this period had not only enriched themselves by multiplying the old taxes and by raising their amount but also by establishing their ownership over forests, mountains, rivers as well as over the natural sources of wealth found within the no man's land existing between the small principalities conquered by them. The king became, by virtue of these annexations, the owner of mines, forests, and rivers as well as the master of the private domains belonging to the conquered dynasties. Buddhist tradition as well as that recorded in the Purāṇas describes the Nandas as inordinately avaricious as well as enormously rich. It was reserved for the writer of the Arthaśāstra to systematise these taxes and imposts which existed in Magadha at the time of the revolution which placed Candragupta on the Maurya throne. We may now summarise the sources of income in the Arthaśāstra, and these were—

(a) Land-tax with occasional dues, as well as water-tax. It varied in different localities and depended on the productivity of the soil. *Brahmadeya*

was exempt from taxes while *akaraḍa* tenants paid taxes only.

- (b) Produce and the rent of the royal demesne. In the villages settled at the instance of the king there were royal agricultural farms tilled by slaves and criminals. The tenants paid rents and taxes.
- (c) Monopoly of mines and minerals as well as metallic manufactures carried on under the supervision of the *Ākarādhyakṣa*, *Suranā-dhyakṣa*, *Lohādhyakṣa* etc.
- (d) The sole right to dig for salt and the monopoly of salt manufacture, under the supervision of the *Lavanādhyakṣa*.
- (e) Excise duty on liquor supervised and collected by the *Surādhyakṣa*. In times of festivities only license was given to individuals to manufacture liquor at home.
- (f) Customs duty on imports and exports (for details see the Arthaśāstra-ch. on *Sulkādhyakṣa* *Śulkavyavahāra* etc.).
- (g) Income from forests.
- (h) Income from royal farms, cattle farms, manufactures, weaving factories etc.
- (i) Tax on guilds, artisans, certain classes of wage-earners, prostitutes and gamblers. Prostitution was regulated by the *Gaṇikādhyakṣa*.
- (j) Ferry-dues, road-cesses, passports for travellers, and toll on loads.
- (k) Judicial fines and confiscations; fines in lieu of

multitatum brought large sums to the royal coffers.

- (l) Treasure-troves, lost articles and goods without owner.
- (m) Property escheated—for lapse of heirs.
- (n) Extraordinary levies, benevolences (*Pranayas*), and supertaxes in times of emergency and calamity.
- (o) Contributions for the army (*Senābhakta*) and contributions in kind.
- (p) Labour of artisans (*viṣṭi*).

When the Maurya empire fell to the ground and its place was taken by various dynasties in different areas, the new rulers claimed and exacted the fiscal rights and privileges of their predecessors. But having regard to the economic condition of their subjects they introduced innovations and modifications. Sometimes many extraordinary exactions were given up, sometimes the amount of taxes was lowered while new imposts were invented by many princes. The *Smṛtis*, namely, the legal treatises ascribed to Manu, Yājñavalkya, Viṣṇu, Nārada, Bṛhaspati, Kātyāyana and others, tried to introduce uniformity, and there we have almost all the items with certain modifications and amendments. The land-tax, the toll on articles of trade, the contribution in cash and cattle, and minor items like the tax on medicinal herbs, flowers, fruits, roots, honey, meat and clarified butter—all remains as before. But the amount varied. (For details see Manu, Ch. VII, Yājñavalkya Ch. II, etc., etc.).

Taxation under the Andhras, Kṣatrapas etc.—After

the downfall of the Mauryas Northern India came under foreign domination, namely, that of the Greeks, Śakas and Kuśānas. Some of these Śakas advanced to Malwa and Central India where they carried on a bitter struggle with the Andhras. These latter remained the only important indigenous power, and some of their inscriptions throw light upon the taxes levied by them. Under the Andhras, we have several important inscriptions as well as their land-grants which throw some light upon the taxes of the period. In some of these we have reference to the privileges conferred on favoured people (Inscription of Vaśiṣṭhaputra Pulamāyi and of queen Bālaśri). The most important privilege granted was that the land or village conferred should not be entered into by royal officers and they are not to be dug for salt (*apavesa-anomasa alonakhādaka* etc.).

This clearly shows that like the Maurya government the Andhras claimed the right to dig for salt. Beyond this we have nothing in the Andhra inscriptions. But another inscription, namely, that of Usavādāta at Karle (Karle no. 10), extols the creation of *free ferries* showing that the right of exacting ferry dues belonged to kings in those localities. The Kṣatrapa inscriptions are silent as to the items of taxation, but Rudradāman in his well-known Junagaḍh inscription speaks of his own benevolent rule and clearly mentions the fact that he refused to exact heavy taxes as well as benevolences (*praṇayas*), while he did not insist on the forced labour (*viṣṭi*) of his subjects. The only taxes referred to are *bali*, *bhāga* and *śulka*, which were the immemorial land-tax, the share of produce

paid to the king and the toll on articles of trade. In regard to the other Scythian dynasties and the Indo-Greeks we have absolutely no information.

The Guptas, Vākātakas and the Valabhi princes.—

By the fourth century A.D. there was a resurrection of Hindu dynasties. In Hindustan the Guptas became the predominant power, while the Vākātakas established their authority over a large part of Central India and the Deccan. As usual, we have a lack of details about the revenue administration of this period, but inscriptions throw light on various items of royal exaction. From the Gupta inscriptions the chief items of revenue seem to have been—

- (a) Tributes paid by the feudatories.
- (b) The land tax in cash or in kind (*hiranya* and *meya*). Probably the royal share of the produce was ascertained and realised by the *Dhruvādhikaraṇika*.
- (c) Toll on articles of commerce, realised by the *Śaulkikas*.
- (d) Forest dues and incomes from forests realised by forest officers, *Gaulmikas* and other officials.

In addition there were the *taradeya* or the ferry dues, the judicial fines, treasure-troves, lost articles, property of those dying without heir. The *Uparikara* is mentioned but its exact meaning is yet to be ascertained.

The Khoh Plates belonging to the Parivrājakas repeatedly mention the *udraṅga* and the *Uparikara*. In village grants to Brāhmaṇas or to temples we repeatedly hear that these are granted (*sodraṅga-soparikara acāṭa-*

bhaṭa-praveśya or Samucita-bhāga-bhoga-kara-hiranya etc.). (See Gupta Inscriptions nos. XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXV, XXVIII, XXIX, XXI).

These minor taxes,—*udraṅga* and *uparikara*, are met with in the record of the Valabhi princes, in addition to bhoga and bhāga, hiranya, viṣṭi (forced labour) etc. and bhūtavātapratyāya. (See Gupta Inscriptions XXXVIII, XXXIX, Indian Antiquary, Vol. VII.). The meaning of *udraṅga* and *uparikara* is not clear. (See Ghosal, Hindu Revenue Administration p. 299).

The Sarabhapura grants show that kings claimed the right to appropriate hidden treasures, and their inscriptions contain the expression *sanīdhi-sopanidhi-acāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśya-sarvakaravivarjita*. (Gupta Inscriptions XXXX, XXXX). The Vākāṭaka charters, while silent upon the main heads of taxation, clearly speak of a large number of fiscal rights and privileges which were claimed by the king. (Gupta Inscriptions, Chamak Copper Plate). The rights claimed by the king were—

- (a) The ordinary tax (kara)
- (b) Supply of cows and bulls
- (c) Flower and milk, pasturage, hide and charcoal
- (d) Extraction of moist salt
- (e) Forced labour
- (f) Hidden treasures and deposits
- (g) Minor items (klpta and upaklpta).

The Rajim copper plate of Tivaradeva of Kośala clearly refers to the royal rights to hidden treasure and mentions a tax *dāradronaka*. The meaning of *dāradronaka* is difficult to understand. According to Feet it

meant an agricultural cess or a marriage tax. (Gupta Inscription, pp. 299).

Taxation under the Pālas.—The Pāla inscriptions, though numerous, help us but little in finding out the chief items of taxation. Incidentally, they refer to the rights and privileges conferred upon grantees of land. In some cases we meet with technical terms, but they are very difficult to explain. The main items are *kara*, *piṇḍakara* (E.I. IV.), *bhāgabhogakara* and *hiranya* (I.A. XV). In some inscriptions we have reference to *chauroddhara*, which was clearly a tax for the police force engaged in catching thieves. The Manhalī Inscription refers to *ratnatraya-rāja-sambhoga* which has not been explained properly. One inscription of Dharmapāla makes a grant of a village with *tala-pātaka* and *hattikā* while a grant of Devapāla clearly confers the land with fish, herb, trees, *āmra*, *madhuka* in addition to *cauroddharana* and *uparikara*. The Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla makes the same grant and adds *samasta-bhāga-bhoga-kara-hiranyādi-pratyaya-sametah*.

In regard to the above items, some of these are very old and it seems that the Pāla kings claimed the right to tax all kinds of produce. *Ratnatrayarāja-sambhoga* has not been properly explained. So is *tala-pātaka*. *Hattikā* may mean the royal dues from the market.

There are other inscriptions from Bengal and Assam, but they do not throw much light upon the items of taxation.

There are inscriptions of North-Indian dynasties, namely the Gurjara-pratihāras, the Candellas, the Cedis and the Gāhaḍavālas, but very little of details is obtainable.

The Candellas refer simply to *bhāgabhogakara*, *daṇḍādēya*, *kara*, *śulka* and *hiraṇya*. The grants of Cedi kings mention the same items in addition to some other items like *ardhapuruṣārīka* and *kalyāṇadhana* which have not been explained properly, as well as *pravāṇikara* and *mārggaṇaka*. According to Dr. Ghosal *mārggaṇaka* is a kind of benevolence. The Calukya inscriptions similarly give us no new information. The Paramāra inscriptions also speak of the old *bhāgabhogakara*, *hiraṇya*, *śulka* as well as *kalyāṇadhana*. *Pravāṇikara* according to Leumann seems to have been a tax on retail merchants.

Wide claims are made by the Gāhaḍavālas in regard to fiscal exactions, as would appear from their land grants. In addition to the ordinary items they seem to have claimed exactions from salt-digging and from mines (*sa-loha-lavaṇākarah*), from fishing (*sa-matsyakarah*), from plants and trees like *madhuka* and *āmra* as well from cattle-pen etc. But many items still remain unexplained. These are (See C. V. Vaidya M.H.I. III, p. 661): (1) *kumāragadī-ṇaka*, (2) *kūṭaka*, (3) *yamalīkāmbalī*, (4) *valadī*, (5) *dasa-bandha-visatiāthūprastha*, *akṣapātala-prastha* and *pratihāraprastha* etc. All the items are unexplained with the exception of those in no. 5, which may mean contributions to officials like those of the *akṣapātala* and *pratihāra*. (See I.A. XV, XIV, XVIII and E.I. Vols. II, IV, X, XIV etc. and the principal Kanauj inscriptions, also Dr. Ghosal, 'Hindu Revenue System', pp. 261-63). A more interesting item is the *Turuṣka-daṇḍa* occurring in one of Govinda-chandra's inscriptions (I.A. XIV). Attempts have been made by some scholars (Sten Konow, E.I. IX, p. 321) to

explain it as a sort of Hindu jiziya. But it has been ably refuted by Hirananda Sastry (See E.I. XIII), and the best interpretation would be to hold it as a tax for helping the king in repelling the Turuṣkas (compare the Danegelt).

In the history of Kashmir we have a picture of royal exactions. Under Śaṅkaravarman heavy exactions were made from the market and other sources by officials of the *aṭṭapatibhāga* and *grhakṛtya* department. Forced labour was imposed and Didda added to the severity of exactions. Officials were placed at the gates of cities, and various Kāyasthas made heavy exactions. One was the *Aśva-ghāsa-kāyastha*. Spoliation of temples went on from the days of Śaṅkaravarman, and Harṣa appointed an official to destroy images and confiscate the wealth of temples (*Daivotpātana-nāyaka*).

In the Deccan we have very little of detailed information. The Cālukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa land-grants merely mention the *udraṅga*, *uparikara*, *dhānya* and *hiraṇya*. One Rāṣṭrakūṭa grant, the Sanjan plates (E.I. XVIII), refers to the income from *bhūta* and *vāṭa* (*bhuta-vāṭa-pratyāya*).

Southern India—Pallavas and Colas.—When we come to the extreme South, we meet with a large number of new items of taxation claimed and exacted by the Pallavas and the Colas. In regard to the Palavas, the Hirahadgalli, the Mayidavalu plates, the Sanskrit charters of Paramēśvaravarman, Nandivarman Pallavamalla and Nandivarman III as well as the Tamil portions of the Kasakkudi, Kuram, Tandantottam, Velurpalayam and the Bahur plates are of

interest. From these the chief sources of revenue seemed to be the following:—

- (a) The usual land-tax
- (b) The salt monopoly
- (c) Supply of sweet and sour milk, sugar, grass, wood and vegetables etc. for soldiers
- (d) Excise or profession taxes, like those on potters, toddi-drawers, shephards, brokers, salt-manufacturers, producers of arica-nut, sellers of grain in the market, oil-pressers and weavers.
- (e) In addition the king claimed occasional dues like a fee on marriage, a fee for permission to build mansions or burn bricks, a fee for sinking wells and reservoirs, a fee for planting cocoanut trees etc. The king also claimed a supply of bullocks for the army and forced labour from his subjects (See Gopalan Pallavas pp. 151-153).

The taxes and imposts claimed by the Colas are gathered from a number of inscriptions (S.I.I. Vol. I. nos. 59, 61, 74, 78 also E.I. XV. 5.—Anbil grant). The more important items are:—

- (a) The usual royal share in money or produce
- (b) Cesses for the maintenances of the overseer, the village-watchman and the Karanam who measured paddy (three handfuls)
- (c) Tax on looms, oil mills and on goldsmiths
- (d) Tax on animals and drugs
- (c) Tax on water-courses
- (f) Tolls on goods; tax on bazars and shops
- (g) Tax on salt

Moreover Cola kings seem to have exacted dues on the sale of fish, bee-hives, manufactured cloth, and betel leaves. There was a tax on rice in Kartika and unripe fruits in Kartika. A tax was exacted to permit a marriage. Similarly something was to be paid to the king on the occasion of building a brick house of more than one-story or the cutting of a water-channel. There was a tax on Ājivikas (men of that sect or workmen?).

Miscellaneous Taxes and Monopolies

It is impossible to exhaust the various items of local imposts realised by kings of mediæval India. Several Nepal inscriptions mention a tax called the *mallakara* and another the *simhakara*. Probably it was an impost to satisfy the Mallas or a class of warriors (like the Hunḍikā demanded by the soldiery of Kashmir—See Ghosal H.R.S. p. 232-33). Tolls and duties were levied on commodities in transit at Maṇḍapikās (See Bhav. Ins. p. 157—also Vaidya Vol. III. 462). Under the Gujarat Caulukyās taxes were levied upon pilgrims, but Jayasimha Siddharāja stopped it at the intercession of his mother (Vaidya M.H.I. Vol. III p. 200). (Pilgrim taxes existed under the Turko-Afghans and Pathans and even now it subsists in the state of Palitana).

Monopolies also existed as in the days of the Arthaśāstra. Even today monopolies exist in Jaypur, Kashmir and other Indian States.

Last of all there was the income from maritime customs. We have very little information on this head, but there is an inscription of the Kākatiya Gaṇapati which

throws light on customs duties regulated by order of the king. (See Motupalli pillar Ins. E.I. XII no. 22).

It mentions that previous to Gaṇapati's time all articles on a vessel wrecked on the coast were taken, but Gaṇapati relaxed the rule. He fixed a new rate of duty on imports and exports. The articles of trade specially mentioned are—camphor, pearls, sandal, rose-water, ivory, civet, copper, zinc, lead, silk, coral, pepper and areca-nut. The rates of duty are

On one tola of Sandal	1 Pagoda 1/4 fanam.
„ „ Camphor and Pearl	3/4 & 2/3 fanam.
1 Pagoda's value of rose water, ivory camphor oil, copper zinc lead silk	
On one lac of areca-nut	1 1/2 1/2 fanam.
thread coral	2/3 fanam.
On Silk	5 1/2 fanam per bale.
On one lac of areca-nut ...	1 Pagoda & 1/2 fanam.

Other States must have such schedules of duty but all information is lost.

Exemption from Taxation.—Certain classes of people seemed to have been exempted from taxes, and we have directions to that effect in the Smṛtis from the days of Āpastamba and Vaśiṣṭha. The Brāhmaṇa, especially the Śrotriya, was never taxed. Brahmadeya lands were free from taxation. The king was probably free from taxation. In addition to these the Vedic student, the helpless, the mendicant, the infant, women of all classes, the blind, the deaf and the dumb were all exempt from taxes.

Ferry-dues were not taken from such persons, and according to Vaśiṣṭha, men earning less than a Kārṣāpaṇa

as well as those living by alms were exempt. Articles intended for sacrifice were free from duty. According to the Arthaśāstra articles required for marriage etc. were not to be taxed; and according to Āpasthamba Śūdras who washed the feet of other classes were free. As regards the immunity of the Brāhmaṇas there is considerable difference of opinion. According to Vaśiṣṭha the Brāhmaṇa community was to be exempted, but in the Mahābhārata Bhīṣma enjoins upon kings to exact taxes and dues from Brāhmaṇas living by trade or by other means of livelihood not recommended to members of their caste.

Expenditure—Budget—official savings and loans

Very little is known about the main items of expenditure during the earliest period. But from time immemorial kings made it a point not to spend the whole revenue on their own selves, but made arrangements for feeding the poor, building alms houses, keeping a stock of grains for emergency purposes, in addition to spending money for the royal family, and for paying officials and for maintaining the army. In the Arthaśāstra the chief items of expenditure though not specifically laid down were on the following:—

- (a) The Royal family, the harem and the kitchen
- (b) Religious service, including the cost of performing sacrifices and payment to priests
- (c) The Army and the civil service
- (d) The armoury, workshops, storehouses, cattle farms, royal horses and elephants

- (e) Pensions to the learned and to the teachers of different arts and crafts
- (f) Maintenance of the poor, aged and infirm, pensions to the children of officials or soldiers dying in the service of the king
- (g) Works of public utility as well as emergency expenditures, namely, relief of distress, famine measures etc.

In later times expenditure depended on the royal will and the previous items seem to have absorbed varying proportions of the revenue. Nothing is known about the amount of expenditure or the proportion of these various items. Everything depended on the will of the king as we know from the history of Kashmir. Towards the close of the Hindu period the Śukranīti gives us the proportions of expenditure, and from this we find that the army was to absorb $\frac{1}{2}$ of the revenue, gifts— $1/12$, principal officers— $1/12$, the departments— $1/12$, king's expenditure— $1/12$, and the rest was to be kept in the royal treasury.

According to inscriptions there seems to have existed a central royal treasury with sub-treasuries. According to the Arthaśāstra, taxes were collected by the Samāhartā and deposited with the Sannidhātā or the treasurer (Bhāṇḍāgārika). The latter office is found even in the Jātakas. Most of the later inscriptions speak of the Bhāṇḍāgārika. One inscription mentions the Bhāṇḍāgārika of a queen (Bhandarkar's list—278). Another inscription of Siddharāja Jayasīṃha of Gujarat mentions his Vyayakarāṇamahāmātya (Bhandarkar's list—236).

Eminent kings of Mediæval India seem to have made it a point to hoard money in their treasuries. In times of war and emergencies they imposed extraordinary taxes or benevolences. Sometimes, hard pressed, they either raised loans on their own security or depreciated the currency.

ARMY

In those times of continuous warfare the army was of vital importance to the state, and it was the primary object of attention on the part of the Hindu kings. (See Kau. p. 340).

As in the previous periods the Hindu army was composed of several divisions, namely—

- (1) The active army or the hereditary force
(Maula)
- (2) Mercenary (Bhṛtakas)
- (3) Of Guilds and Corporations (Śreṇībala)
- (4) Contingents of feudatories (Samantabala)
- (5) Contingents of allies (Mitrabala)
- (6) Contingents of aboriginal auxiliaries or the
Ātavikas.

Composed of these various elements, the Hindu army was organised on traditional lines. Each king maintained a large number of war elephants, cavalry and infantry, the use of chariots having fallen into disuse. War elephants remained the favourite of Hindu kings to the very last days, and we all know how much they contributed to the defeat

of Hindu armies at the hands of the early Turk invaders like Mahmud. The Indian Mussalmans also borrowed the custom from the conquered and on more than one occasion the elephant contributed to the defeat of Mussalman armies. Many of these animals were well protected with armours and were employed in destroying the walls and battlements of invested forts and entrenchments. They also carried bags and baggages as well as heavy accoutrements of war, and kings and high officials fought on their back. Many of the Indian monarchs, especially those of the East, took the title of 'Gajapati' as a distinguishing epithet. The elephant being of such importance, its loss or gain by an enemy was regarded as a great achievement. In almost all the mediæval Hindu States special care was taken to maintain elephants with a high official (Gajādhyakṣa) taking care of them.

Cavalry.—The cavalry was of great importance and contributed to the swift movement of armies as well as raiding expeditions. Cavalry warfare was however not very popular in regions like Bengal intersected by innumerable rivers, where horses naturally deteriorated. Most kings of North India and some in the South distinguished themselves by large cavalry forces. The Pratihara kings of Kanauj maintained huge cavalry forces, and four of these, each 700,000 strong, were constantly ready for war, according to Mussalman historians like Sulaiman. Other armies like those of the Gujarat Caulukyās or the Yādavas of Devagiri were rich in cavalry. According to Rice (Mysore and Koorg p. 171) some of the Yādava-cavalry wore breast-plates.

Last of all came the Infantry which, in most cases, formed the backbone of the army. They occupied a lower position in the army, though they were generally the most numerous.

Maintenance.—As a rule the majority of soldiers were mercenaries who fought for wages. But in addition there were contingents which were supplied by fief-holders or feudatories who held lands on condition of military service. Successful officers or valiant soldiers were often rewarded by grants of land, as also the children of those dying in war.

The practice of granting land to soldiers was very old, and probably the state exacted taxes and supplies from the subjects. On this early as well as later information is rather meagre, though even in the days of Aṛihaśāstra Kāntilya speaks of Āyudhiyaka villages as well as the Senābhakta as an impost. Very little details are forthcoming, and in the inscriptions we have little evidence. During march or movements armies had the right of exacting supplies from localities, and this practice was in greater force in the South. Probably the soldiers had the right of commandeering bulls and draught animals as well as of exacting forage (Cf. ins. of the Vākātakas and the Pallavas).

Special Corps.—There were special corps attached to all armies. The personal guards of the king held a higher position, and in the South, especially in the time of Nolambas and the Hoysālas, there arose the practice of enlisting special life-guards, the Garuḍas. These Garuḍas were ever ready to sacrifice their lives, and the position of a Garuḍa was so honourable that royal princes made themselves

Garudas to their sovereign. They protected the royal person and fought for his honour, and there are instances of such people dying or committing suicide on the death of their master. (See Rice—Mysore & Koorg p. 171). They were chosen for desperate enterprises, and they received the right or honour of getting betel from their masters on important occasions.

On their master's death they put an end to their lives; and when they fell their families were granted rent-free lands which were called *Kāṇad* or *Koḍagi*, *Rakta-Koḍagi* or *Nettarakoḍagi*.

Special mercenary corps were often employed, and foreigners excelling in peculiar modes of fighting were maintained. *Karnaṭa* or *Hūma* soldiers were famed as mercenaries and in Sind an Arab corps was maintained at the time of Dahir. This corps refused to fight the Mussalmans on their approach to Sind. Auxiliary corps were maintained for facilities of transport and supply. Some of the inscriptions refer to an officer in Eastern India known as *Gamāgamika* and probably he was in charge of transport. Similarly there were officers in charge of catapults and siege-operations and they were styled *Dauḥsādha-sādhanika*, according to some authorities.

Arms and weapons.—The arms and weapons generally consisted of lances and javelins as well as the sword, the mace, the bow and the arrow. The chapters of the *Sānti-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* give us the characteristic weapons and the ways of fighting of the Indian people of the different localities.

Fire Arms.—Towards the close of the Hindu period

some new weapons seem to have been used. One inscription refers to the use of *aśani* by the Yādavas (Rice p. 171), and Rice takes it to mean some sort of fire-arms. The Śukraniti mentions *nālikas* and gives us the description of fire-arms, but its date is disputed.

Wars were of constant occurrence as is too well known to students of Indian History. Not to speak of sporadic conquests like that of Samudragupta, Harṣa, or Yaśodharman, there were innumerable struggles of long duration sometimes against hereditary enemies and sometimes against foreign invaders. Thus in North India a long war had to be waged by the Guptas against the Kṣatrapas. The war against the Hūṇas was long and bloody and had to be continued by the Guptas, the Maukharis and the Vardhanas of Thanesvara. Later there were triangular contests for supremacy in North India in which the Pratihāras, the Palas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas participated. The fall of the Pratihāras, who had also checked the Mussalmans, was succeeded by constant wars among the states that grew up.

In the South perpetual war was waged by the Pallavas and their successors, the Colas, against the minor states of the Tamil country, while throughout the long history of the Deccan, the Cālukyas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Cālukyas of Kalyan had to wage incessant war against the dominant power in Tamil India, namely, the Pallavas and their successors, the Colas. The Eastern Cālukyas too fought against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and one continuous 12 years' war is recorded (by Narendrar Mrgarāja 799-843, also Vijayāditya *vs.* the Gaṅgas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas).

In course of these huge armies had to be raised, and we

have references to their size. In the North Harṣa's army numbered 20,000 elephants and 100,000 horses and nearly the same number of foot. The Pratihara cavalry, according to the Mussulmans, numbered more than two millions, while, according to them, the Hindu contingent sent against Mahmud was of a huge number. In the South the same was the state of affairs. One Pallava inscription speaks of Vikramāditya's army several hundred thousands strong, while, according to the Soratur records, the Cola army was nearly 9 lacs in strength. The army of the Yādavas which was destroyed by their enemies comprised 200,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry (DKD. 504). In course of these, open fightings like the battles of Koppam, Soratur and Kudal Saṅgaman took place, vast tracts were devastated and untold sufferings were caused. Long sieges were undertaken and fortresses were reduced (Cf. capture of Revati island and the siege of Kāñcī—DKD 362). For the proper defence of the country important frontier towns as well as capital cities were well guarded, fortified and garrisoned. The history of the South is full of records describing sieges of fortified cities, like Kāñcī or Revatīdvīpa.

One inscription describes the battlements of Kāñcī, while a Pallava record describes a siege of 12 years. While Hoysāla Viṣṇuvardhana describes his capture of three kinds of forts (DKD 496).

In the North fortresses like Gopādrī were garrisoned, and we have a Cāhamāna record describing the Mussalman attack on Hansi (I.A. 1912 Hansi Cāhamāna record of Prthvīrāja).

Very little is known about the frontier forts and the

fortified towns, but it is possible that the commander of forces exercised control in the city as in the case of Gopādri.

Army Command.—The army was more often commanded by kings or royal princes when these were men of exceptional military ability. Many of the Gupta kings like Samudragupta, Candragupta II, or Skandagupta commanded in person. That was also the case with Pāla rulers like Dharma, Deva, or Rāmapāla. Sena kings like Lakṣmaṇasena did the same, at least in youth. Most of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Cālukya, Pallava and Cola kings did the same. In the absence of the king, valiant royal princes or trusted feudatories led armies, and prominent among such fighting princes we may mention Vikrama I Cālukya, Vikrama VI, and Skandagupta while they were heirs-apparent. Of feudatories leading armies we have also many examples.

DIPLOMACY AND INTER-STATE DEALINGS

From time immemorial, the rulers of Indian states carried on fighting amongst themselves for supremacy, the idea of a universal empire floating before their eyes. Under the Mauryas alone this ideal was to some extent realised but as soon they declined in power, the old unstable equilibrium came to characterise Indian Politics.

In the midst of these wars and conflicts, states had to maintain their relations with neighbours. Generally the relations between two neighbouring states were those of hostility, and this natural hostility between two contiguous

states was the basic principle on which the politics of the *Maṇḍala* was based. A state had a natural enemy in its contiguous state while the state existing on the frontiers of the latter was an enemy of the same and hence a friend of the first one. On this principle, there arose the *Maṇḍala* which comprised a string of states alternately inimical and friendly to the primary state. Then came the *Madhyama* king on whose attitude much depended. Last of all, was the *Udāsīna* state which by its interference could materially influence the political conditions of the *Maṇḍala*.

Kings had to maintain their existence by means of alliances and by maintaining a strong military force. When one state became more powerful, its king made up his mind to conquer the rest and there arose a perpetually unstable political equilibrium. Once war broke out, states had either to join one side or declare their neutrality or to maintain an attitude of dubiousness. This gave rise to the "sixfold policy" or *Ṣaḍguṇya* comprising *Sandhi* (peace), *Vigraha* (war), *Yāna* (march for war); *Āsana* (or neutral inactivity), *Dvaidhībhāva* (a dubious attitude) or *Samśraya* (adoption of the protection of the rising power). By these means dynasties preserved themselves from ruin but when rulers gained strength they wanted to enforce their suzerain authority over their neighbours. The writers on the 'art of Government' extol the virtues of conquest and leave to kings the choice of war and peace after a consideration of political circumstances. War and conquest was highly lauded in India and the result was a perpetual conflict. This war continued throughout the whole of the Hindu period and towards the close of Hindu independence,

weakened each one of the military monarchies which fell easy preys to Mussalman attacks.

In the days of the Arthaśāstra, diplomatic relations were maintained by kings with their neighbours by means of various types of agents. These included the *Dūta* (ambassador), the *Parimitārtha* (diplomatic agent) and the *Nisrṣṭārtha*. Candragupta, Bindusāra and Aśoka sent embassies to foreign kings, and under the last permanent ambassadors seem to have been employed. But later on, peaceful relations between states hardly existed and the *Dūta* under cover of his immunities became a sort of spy as would appear from his qualifications laid down in the *Smṛtis* and the works on polity. Political espionage also became a laudable act and kings scrupled not to weaken their friends or enemies by inciting enemies against them or undermining the loyalty of their subjects and officials. Active agents sometimes anticipated the hostile acts of an invading army as we know from the Arthaśāstra and other later works. Hence in the eyes of later writers, the employment of spies against neighbouring princes was an act of necessity and diplomacy was the art of deceiving friends and foes alike (*parātisandhāna*).

War was lauded as the primary occupation of kings and the writers on the art of government call upon kings to be ever ready for it. In each book chapters are devoted to the necessity of fortifications and military organisation. Kings were to remain ever on the alert. Pacific disposition meant death and ruin to kings. Activity and preparedness was the only way to self-preservation and success.

In times of hostility, the laws of war remained humane. The use of certain kinds of weapons was forbidden, unnecessary slaughter was denounced while the grant of quarter to the vanquished or to women, children or non-combatants was extolled. We find rules and canons laid down on these topics in almost all works on polity and government from the days of the Mahābhārata (Śānti Ch. 96, 100; also Manu-Saṃhitā Ch. VII 90-94). But in spite of all these, countries and peoples suffered during wars and invasions. Conquerors and invading army commanders were empowered to ravage territories, destroy harvests, cut off water supplies, or to set fire to fortifications (See Manu-Saṃhitā VII. 195-201). The goods and chattels of the conquered fell into the hands of the invaders and were distributed as booty among the conquerors. Thus the principles of *Lobha-vijaya* and *Asura-vijaya* predominated and untold miseries befell the inhabitants of vast tracts.

We have innumerable instances of such destructive wars from inscriptions and traditional records. The horrors of the Kalinga war are described in Aśoka's XIIIth rock edict. The Guptas rooted out rival dynasties in Hindustan with vengeance, and in still later periods wars became more destructive and ruinous to provinces and states. Rival armies destroyed the capital cities of kings and in such manner the great capital cities of India, like Vatapi, Mādura, Kalyāṇa, Anhalwara, Dhārā or the great city of Kanauj suffered terribly. The brutalities of the Colas to the conquered are described in their own inscriptions while the Sorattur Inscription describes the destruction of a part of the Cālukya dominions, where men and

women were slaughtered, women were violated and the country harrowed with fire and sword.

Under such circumstances, war was the normal relationship between states. To preserve peace, kings often strengthened themselves by matrimonial alliances. The policy of matrimonial alliance was the foundation of the rising power of the Guptas as well as of the Vākāṭakas. The Guptas strengthened their monarchy by establishing marital relations with the Nāgas and Vākāṭakas. Similar was the policy of the Cālukyas of Kalyan, the Cedis and various other dynasties.

JUSTICE AND JUDICIARY IN THE HINDU STATES

Though the age preceding the Turki conquest of India saw the decay of popular influence over the constitutional machinery it was characterised by a development of the Hindu judiciary as well as of Hindu law.

In the domain of judicial administration the ever-growing authority of the king did not succeed in killing the minor jurisdictions possessed by villages, clans or corporations of various descriptions and almost all the lawgivers and authors of the *Nibandhas* enumerate the various classes of law-courts, namely :—

- (1) The courts of clans and families
- (2) The courts of village-elders
- (3) The courts of guilds
- (4) The courts of municipalities, or commercial organisations or corporations

- (5) The royal courts of first instance in local areas
- (6) The court at the capital city with the Prāḍvivākas at its head
- (7) The King sitting on appeal as the highest judge of the realm.

Village courts existed from the days of the Vedic communities and administered the customary laws. The courts of guilds also arose early as also these of clans and corporations. Municipal courts strengthened their jurisdictions with the grant of royal charters, while royal courts came to be highly organised in course of time. Perhaps a great advance was made in the organisation of the judiciary as well as the codification of laws in the days of the Mauryas, if we are to rely on the account of the Arthaśāstra. There we find lawcourts in all important administrative centres, and these were presided over by the Dharmasthas who mainly administered the 18 divisions of the traditional Dharma Law. In addition we had the various *Kaṇṭaka-śodhana* courts administering the regulations created by Royal edict or ordinances or enforced various administrative measures. On the fall of the Mauryas, many of the ordinances lost their legal force but the old code was adopted with modification by the later lawgivers. The old Dharma law was highly stressed upon, and the judiciary was also modified. The Prāḍvivākas of later times took the place of the Dharmasthas or the Amātyas of the Arthaśāstra. The King's appellate function remained as before but gradually kings ceased to function as judges, their judicial powers vesting in Dharmādhyakṣas or Prāḍvivākas.

During the later Hindu Period, the jurisdiction of Hindu royal courts became more comprehensive. The traditional divisions of law into 18 heads remained as before, but all the *Kaṇṭaka-śodhana* jurisdictions, created by Maurya regal ordinances, vested in ordinary courts. The Dharmaśāstra writers like the authors of the *Manu-Saṃhitā* and *Yājñavalkya-Saṃhitā* emphasise indeed the excellence of the Dharma codes over the *Arthaśāstra*, but in practice, the compilers of later law codes, while they scoffed at the *Arthaśāstra*, embodied all the legal principles contained therein in their own codes.

As to the sources of law, the older heads were recognised, namely, the injunctions of the *Śruti*, the *Smṛti* and local customs. The recognition of custom led to the amplification of the civil and criminal law as well as the law of procedure in certain localities and provinces. Royal edicts often materially altered the criminal code, and new offences were created by royal order.

In the legal administration of Hindu India, a distinction between civil and criminal jurisdiction did not exist, though criminal offences like theft with violence, slander, injuries, violent crimes, rape and abduction came under special divisions called *Sāhasa*, *Vākpāruṣya*, *Daṇḍapāruṣya* and *Strisaṃgrahaṇa*. This division was more scientific than the one in modern jurisprudence which often gives rise to cross-suits both in tort and in the law of crimes.

Civil law saw a great development at the hands of jurists and interpreters who made it a point to bring law to the changed condition of society and the modified social ideals. Different varieties of interpretation gave rise to

different schools of inheritance and division of property, and the Nibandhas and commentaries mark the transition to the growth of different schools, which came to have formal recognition about the time of the advent of the British.

In criminal law the old ideas and principles remained in vogue. No one was punished without clear evidence of his guilt. In the absence of eye-witnesses, circumstantial evidence was taken into consideration though there were chances of grave miscarriage of justice as we know from the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. Punishment varied not only according to the gravity of the offence but with the social status of the accused and the injured. Judicial torture remained on the statute books though the author of the *Arthaśāstra* advocated caution in its application. If we are to believe in foreign accounts, it was hardly resorted to during later periods.

The old barbaric punishments like death with various kinds of torture *viz.*, by burning, drowning or mutilation of limbs, remained in the legal books, but the influence of pacific teachings as well as of the doctrine of *Ahimsā* led to the disuse of many of these cruel punishments. Thus according to Fa Hian, capital punishment was hardly inflicted, and Hiuen Tsang says that for repeated acts of treason mutilation was the punishment. The evidence of the early Muslim writers and travellers also goes to prove the same thing.

In all higher courts, assessors (*Sabhyas*) were allowed to have a place by the side of the judge. They did not occupy the position of modern jurors, but functioned

as legal experts and did much to stand in the way of miscarriage of justice.

The Adjective law was highly developed, and definite rules of procedure were recognised. Any one complaining of injury had to file a detailed plaint showing the nature of his rights and the infringement thereof and had to furnish details as to the commission of injury and description of the person accused. After a formal examination of the plaint, it was admitted and the other party was summoned. In matters of urgency, or in cases of violence, the accused was summoned by warrant and the writ of *Asedha* was issued against him, or he was summarily put under arrest or legal restraint. Evidence was then taken as to the facts and the nature of the dispute.

Evidences were of various classes, namely:—Those furnished by (1) written documents, or in their absence, (2) the proof of title arising out of prescription (documents were either attested by royal officials or by private witnesses) (3) The oral testimony of persons of good repute. Men closely related to the parties of bad repute were excluded from giving evidence.

In the absence of human witnesses, ordeals (*Divyas*) had to be resorted to. These though absent in older books find a place in Yājñavalkya Smṛti and other later works. The five older ordeals were:—

- (1) ordeal of the balance
- (2) „ by fire
- (3) „ by water
- (4) „ by poison
- (5) „ water dedicated to gods (*koṣa*).

Later books add to the number of ordeals: Kātyāyana mentions the balance, fire, water, poison, water dedicated to gods (*koṣa*), Ghaṭa and oath on the head of children, and in Nārada we have also a large number of ordeals.

In ordinary cases, except in heinous offences, like murder, rape, or arson, the accused had the right of appointing a lawyer or a friend (*Pratinidhi*) to represent him. The parties were subjected to cross-examination, and the answers were written down (as in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*). The Śreṣṭhin and Kayastha attended the court, one to write down the evidence and the other to examine the value of disputed articles. Cross-examination was entrusted to the judge, and that was often a sounder principle.

After the evidence had been gone through carefully, the assessors gave out their opinion, the judge pronounced the verdict and the royal officers executed the sentence. In civil matters, the decision of the judge was embodied in the decree and it was a record of great value. Royal courts as well as the courts of corporation were courts of record, and a royal decree in a suit put an end to disputes.

Appeals.—The final appeal lay before the king who was the fountain-head of justice and had the power of commuting sentences, or granting a reprieve. Many kings prided themselves upon their impartial justice and we have instances in later history. But there were grave miscarriages of justice, when the king was self-willed, greedy, or vindictive.

POLICE ADMINISTRATION

For the police administration of the country Hindu Kings took vigorous measures. The Arthaśāstra gives us the following details:—(1) First of all, the frontiers were well guarded. There were fortifications in the frontier districts and officials called Antapālas guarded the frontiers, examined imported articles, took away the weapons of foreign immigrants or traders and watched new arrivals.

(2) Secondly, the rivers, riparian districts and coastal regions were under naval officials, who not only chased pirates, but took the ferries under control, since ferry-dues also went to the King. They also did much to save the people in times of foreign invasion or floods. They also apprehended suspects as well as those taking monastic vows improperly.

(3) Thirdly, the country was divided into districts under Daṇḍanāyakas or Daṇḍapālas, while in cities the Paura or city officer had his guards. He had multifarious duties. (See Kauṭilya chapter on the Nāgaraka).

(4) In villages or rural areas, local people acting as assessors under the Headman or the Pañca were entrusted with police duties and they were as before responsible for the peace and security of the rural areas. They were also liable to make good the losses inflicted on people, caused through their negligence. They were also empowered to expel habitual criminals, adulterers or thieves.

(5) In important strategic points *Gulmas* were established. At night the guards watched the streets and movements were forbidden except on urgent reasons and

that with permission. For free movements sometimes pass-ports were issued.

In the unsettled areas between villages the Vivitā-dhyakṣa and his men preserved the peace. The Arthaśāstra gives us details about the work of the Vivitā-dhyakṣa. He was assisted by a number of menials and guards and employed dogs trained to track criminals. On the approach of burglars or bands of criminals, news was sent to the people or the head-quarters by means of carrier-pigeons.

(6) Large numbers of spies were employed to watch over suspects. Hotels, the resorts of the rowdy, or those addicted to women, pleasure-loving men without means of livelihood, or vagabonds were watched. Spies in the garb of mendicants, astrologers, soothsayers, traders or men in distress apprehended culprits in the act of committing crimes. The causes of suicide or sudden death were enquired into, and post-mortems were held. All these duties were entrusted to officers of the *Kaṇṭakaśodhana* department.

Minor criminal magistrates for special purposes also existed, namely—*Daśāparādhikas* in charge of 10 minor offences or *Dāśāparādhikas* in charge of offending slaves?). And *Cauroddharanikas* (for apprehending thieves). A tax for helping the apprehension of thieves (*Cauroddharanika*) was also levied.

Local responsibility was a feature of Hindu police administration. All officials were liable for losses suffered by people within their jurisdiction, and this responsibility of paying reparaton ultimately lay on the king's shoulders.

By this means, the efficiency of the local police was maintained. This system survived during the middle ages and subsists in many places even now.

When fiefs were granted or villages were made over to Brāhmaṇas as Brahmadeyas or to corporations, they were often vested with the charge of the police of these localities. They were also vested with minor criminal jurisdiction.

For police work large numbers of guards, and soldiers were employed. There was no distinction between the military and the civil police. Khasās, Caṇḍālas, Cāṭas, Bhaṭas in addition to mercenary adventurers from Mālava or Karnāṭa were largely employed in rural areas. Village elders or headmen as well as their subordinates were mostly paid and maintained by local contributions. (1)

HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF KASHMIR

A number of difficulties stand in the way of our forming a true and exact idea of the political and constitutional life in India on the eve of the Mussalman conquest. First of all, there is a lack of recorded history, in the true sense of the word and an absence of details relating to the administrative institutions. Inscriptions are sometimes available but these are not only of doubtful value but very often they represent the pompous declarations of autocratic rulers who magnify their own greatness at the cost of real history. Last of all, we cannot rely on legal treatises or books on the art of government since in these, we find a high tide of idealism with regard to political life. Under such circumstances a historian and more especially one endowed with a love for his own country is very apt to delineate a picture of good government in India in spite of the fact that so far as public life was concerned the

people had lost all interest in it, all real checks on irresponsible regal power had disappeared, and the good and evil of subjects depended upon the good and evil qualities of their ruler. What was true of the rest of the world was true in this country and India was not an exception to the general rule.

With a view to offer an account of real political life, we present an analysis of the political history of Kashmir, the only province of India of which a detailed and realistic account is preserved for us by the powerful pen of a writer like Kalhana. That great poet and historian not entirely free from personal bias or the peculiar beliefs and superstitions of his age preserves for us an account which is not only illuminating and realistic but also gives us an insight into the life of a people left to the care of irresponsible despots.

Kashmir was a province of India, almost isolated from the rest of the country and inhabited originally by a section of the Aryan people, though in course of time immigrants from beyond India materially altered the character of the population. The king was, in theory, all powerful, and in Kalhana's days the idea had gained ground that the king was the father of the people and he was regarded as a part of the God Siva.

The country passed through many vicissitudes of fortune, and after a long rule by native monarchs it passed to foreign rulers named Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaṇiṣka, and later the Hūṇa Mihiragula, whose horrible record of cruelty and inhumanity remains as yet unsurpassed by tyrants of other countries, established himself in Kashmir.

Next, the country came under dynasties of local princes, namely, those of the Kārkoṭa, Utpala and the Lohāra dynasties. Most of the princes were practically irresponsible and their tyranny was subject only to the limitation of an armed popular rising, deposition or their assassination by rivals. The mass of the people was poor and remained content with their peaceful toil. The priesthood had wealth and social position but these did not stand in the way of their being oppressed at the instance of the tyrants. In course of time, there arose the *Dāmaras* or local chiefs and the bands of mercenary soldiers, the *Tantrins* and *Ekāhṇyas*, who proved a veritable source of disturbance to the country and enemies to the prosperity of the subjects. In the midst of these, kings found it no easy

task to rule the country and had recourse to all measures of highhandedness to put an end to their enemies. Some kings, no doubt, strove to look into the interests of the people but a good many proved tyrannical and highhanded. Goaded by tyranny, the people were alienated and the obnoxious rulers were sometimes driven out and, as we find very often, put to death. Their disappearance brought anarchy in the country and the elders sometimes elected their rulers. We have repeated instances of such elections to the regal office and of elected or selected kings may be cited the names of Aryarāja (R.T. II. 116), Meghavāhana, Mātṛgupta (at the instance of Vikramāditya) and Durlabhavardhana, the son-in-law of Balāditya (R.T. III. 528). Then after the extinction of the line of Lalitāpīḍa (Kārkoṭa) ministers made Avantivarman king.

Then after tyrannical rule of Saṅkaravarman having ended by his assassination, the country passed under Queen Sugandhā acting as regent on behalf of her son Gopālavarman, aided by the *Tantrins* and the *Ekāṅgas*. On the murder of Sugandhā, the *Tantrins* became the real ruler in the kingdom and set up four kings of whom one Caṅkravarman so disgusted his people by his degraded life and tyranny that he had to lose his life at the hands of his exasperated subjects. A human monster, Unmattāvanti was then set up on the throne, only to make his name execrated by his tortures and enormities. On the extinction of the Utpalas, the Brāhmaṇas put Yaśaskara on the throne. Then Saṅgrāmadeva became king, and sometime after his death the country was ruled by the able yet heartless Queen Diddā who not only acted as regent for her sons but ultimately ascended the throne as queen regnant (VI. 332). Another Queen Śrīlekṣhā dominated for some time, and after a time Kashmir came to be ruled by tyrants like Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101). After the sad end which he merited, the Brahmins again put Uccala on the throne, and after him the country suffered from the rising of Dāmaras (A.D. 1112-1120), while Turki and Mussalman adventurers found a place in the country. Such strifes continued for a long time. Wars of succession came to be waged and at length a stranger, a low caste Hindu ascended the throne. His son Hyder was reared up by a Mussalman. Islam became a force in the country and the last prince of the royal family who has succeeded in getting back his throne died. The

Mussalman, Shāh Mīr, made himself the real ruler of the country. He forced the queen of the Hindu ruler, Koṭā Devī, to marry him, but that royal princess put an end to a life of degradation by stabbing herself to death, on the night of her marriage.

Kashmir came under Mussalman influence and then the faith of the Prophet gradually gained ground. With all these vicissitudes, however, it is remarkable that the country preserved its nominal independence, even when Hindustan had been overrun by the Turks, owing to its natural isolation. This independence continued for a long time, and was only ended when the Mussalman minister of the last king deposed his master and founded an independant kingdom for himself (1340).

The above account goes to show the evils which are the natural consequences of a personal government and makes it clear how in Kashmir there was the lack of a real constitutional machinery, strong enough to bind the hands of an irresponsible ruler. Ordinarily, the people had no other way out but to acquiesce in all governments both good and bad and only to bide their time when the death of a tyrant or the accession of a benevolent ruler was sure to make them happy and forget the evils of past tyranny. Sometimes powerful ministers came to their rescue but more often these men merely consolidated personal power and tormented the people by their highhandedness and crimes. In extreme cases, however, the people asserted themselves and among these the Brahmins, enjoying social privilege, played a prominent part. In some cases, tyrants were assassinated or were put to death by rivals, or by powerful ministers. But these latter were often more mindful of their own interests than those of the people. The mercenary soldiers like the *Tantrins* or the *Ekāṅgas*, or feudal chiefs like the *Dāmaras* were another disturbing element. King-makers often appeared and occasionally the relations of the King's wife and concubines dominated the kingdom.

Under such a system, the natural tendencies of monarchs were either to prove tyrants or engage in foreign conquests and wars. Some of the rulers were undoubtedly able, like Lalitāditya, Saṅkaravarman, Jayapīḍa or even the notorious Diddā. Some of these distinguished themselves by the patronage of literature or the arts or were munificent toward's Brahmins or the religious bodies. But by far the majority of

the rest were tyrants whose highhandedness called forth the denunciation of the native historian or the curse of their subjects. In more than one instance it was believed that a tyrannical king met his death owing to the curse of his subjects, and whenever that event happened the people heaved a sigh of relief.

Without attempting to make a catalogue of the crimes of Kashmir kings we may simply mention those whose enormities were of a singularly violent nature, so as to demonstrate the evils from which the country suffered, owing to the rule of irresponsible tyrants without any constitutional check.

One king Durlabha Pratāpāditya II forcibly married another's wife (R.T. IV. 17ff). King Jayāpīḍa made himself odious by his fiscal exactions on the advice of the Kāyasthas and by the confiscation of Brahmin agrahāras (R.T. IV. 620ff). King Lalitāpīḍa filled his court with courtesans, and the mark of their footprint became the badge of ministerial office (R.T. IV. 670). Śaṅkaravarman distinguished himself by his manifold ways of fiscal oppression (V. 165-180) and multiplied the office of Kāyasthas, who invented new items of taxation. Under Cakravarman the kingdom remained at the mercy of the king's concubines Hamsā and Nāgalatā, and the Dombas became the real rulers of the state. Unmattāvanti made himself odious by killing his father the ex-king Pārtha (V. 428-38) and took fiendish pleasure in stabbing naked women, by cutting off the limbs of workmen or in ripping open the wombs of pregnant women (V. 440-41). Another prince Kṣemagupta delighted in committing adultery with his ministers' wives (R.T. VI. 154-165), while the same became the guiding passion of the able but unscrupulous queen Diddā (VI. 188-189) who consolidated her power by murdering her grandsons Nandigupta, Tribhuvana and Bhīmugupta (R.T. VI. 310-330). King Kalaśa became the patron of low favourites and fallen women and filled his harem with Turki women. Another queen, Śrīlekṣhā, consolidated her power by putting her son Harirāja to death (R.T. VII. 133). Last of all, came a King Harṣa who had not only revolted against his father, but distinguished himself by his excellence in all kinds of sins and crimes conceivable to man. His fiscal extortions knew no bounds (VII. 1091-1105). Not only did he take

measures to make money by robbing temples but went so far as to appoint an official called Devotpāṭananāyaka to desecrate temples. Yet these financial extortions are nothing when we go through the catalogue of his other crimes and aggravations. His lasciviousness was unbounded and not satisfied with the large number of concubines or the wives of others, he held intercourse with his own sisters and stepmothers and even violated his father's sister's daughter Nāgā (R.T. VII. 1146-48). Kalhana indignantly calls him a Rājabhairava.

Fiscal tyranny :—To find money for personal pleasures, kings resorted to unbounded fiscal extortion. Not to speak of kings like Harṣa or those who merely confiscated temple property, king Śaṅkaravarman permanently added to the royal income by the following exactions. Kalhana mentions the following measures and taxes (V. 165-180) :—

- (1) Resumption of temple lands and levy of a new tax (Pratikara).
- (2) Tax on the sale of incense and sandal at temples.
- (3) Levy of a tax on sales in markets and creation of the Aṭṭapratihhāga office.
- (4) Creation of the Gṛhākṛtya office.
- (5) Made exactions by reducing weights.
- (6) Levied 13 kinds of *begars* or forced labour on villagers.
- (7) Levied new impositions for the pay of Skandākas and Grāmakāyasthas and appointed five new Diviras.

Even the good Yaśaskara appointed four new officers to collect cesses in towns (Nagarādhikṛtas). To these Harṣa added his exactions from temples and for this purpose created the offices of temple exploiter (Devotpāṭananāyaka) and acquisition of money (Arthanāyaka). The country became full of Kāyasthas and in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī we have repeated denunciation of these officials (R.T. V. 184, VIII. 88-94 etc.).

Administrative history :—Kalhana's narrative gives us materials for the administrative system of Kashmir and its gradual evolution. We are told that (I. 118-20) originally there were several high officials *e.g.*, the Judge, the Revenue Superintendent, the Treasurer, the Commander of the army, the Envoy, the Purohita and the Astrologer. But king Jalauka created 18 higher offices (Karmasthas). Gradually other offices were added, and of these the more important were those of

the Lakhādihikārīn (III. 206) and those which were created by Latitāditya namely, the Pañcamahāśābda, the Mahāśāndhivigrahika, the Mahāpratihāra, the Māhāśvaśāla, the Mahā-bhāpāgārīka and the Māhāśāddhanabhāga.

Under Jayāpīḍa the Dharmādihikarāṇa was organised (IV. 588). Under Saṅkaravarman, the Atṭapratibhāga and Gṛhakṛtya offices were created and the number of Kāyasthas multiplied. In the Gṛhakṛtya office, five Divīras or secretaries were appointed while the Gaṇjavara (or Sakaca and Lavata) offices were added. Yaśaskara appointed four new officials, the Nagarādihikṛtas. The Gaṇja or treasury came under the Gaṇjādhipa, while the Pādāgra office in connection with financial administration came into prominence (VII. 210). While a *Calagaṇja* or moving treasury came into existence.

Two of the offices were of great importance, viz.,

- (a) that of Prime minister, Sarvādihikṛta or Samādihikāra, who often became the real ruler of the kingdom,
- (b) The Rājasthānīya of Rājasthānādihikāra, who seems to have combined ministerial status with the highest Judicial authority (R.T. VII. 601, 668).

BOOK XI Political Speculations and Ideals on the Eve of Downfall

Though marked by a remarkable decay in political and constitutional life the period immediately preceeding the downfall of the Hindus was not entirely barren in political speculation. There was, however, very little scope for the evolution of new ideas for original speculation in politics had ceased long ago. Yet a large number of books on the art of government were composed in addition to the

legal compilations or *Nibandhas* which contained directions as to the duties of the king. Of the works on government the most important were—1. The *Kāmandaka-nīti-sāra*. 2. The *Nīti-vākyaṃṛta* of Somadeva, the Jain, in addition to many other works composed still later, the most important of these being the *Sukra-nīti-sāra*, of which the date remains a theme of dispute among orientalist. Among the legal works, we have the *Smṛti* of *Kātyāyana*, and those of *Bṛhaspati* and *Nārada*. In addition to these we have *Nibandhas* like the *Vīramitrodaya*, the *Vivādaratnākara*, the *Nirṇayasindhu*, the *Parāśaramādhavya* and the *Smṛti-candrikā*, some of these works being composed during the Mohammedan period.

Few of these books advance pretensions to original thinking or assume the air of authoritativeness, but they preserve only the traditions of the greater writers of the past. *Kāmandaka* the author of the *Nīti-sāra*, professes to be a "political pupil of *Kauṭilya*" who "single-handed destroyed the *Nandas* by his diplomatic skill" (*mantraśakti*). Like *Kauṭilya* he cites elder writers including *Cāpakya* himself, and only occasionally he gives us views which he claims as his own. In his work, we find the same spirit which is discernible in the *Kauṭilya*. He discusses the end and aim of states and identifies the interests of the ruler and the ruled, like his great master. He extols moral discipline in the king, the absence of which brings downfall, and he gives examples of kings ruined through their folly and highhandedness (pp. 57-60). He extols the sciences (ch. II) and holds up the traditional social and moral ideal pointing out the importance of *Danḍa*. Like the great master whom he

professes to follow, he believes in the interdependence of the seven elements of a State (IV. I) and extols the functions of the king on whose activity everything, including morality and economic prosperity, entirely depends (Ch. I, 9-15). He also emphasises the view that protection is the essence of royal government and it is in lieu of it that subjects pay taxes to the king. The king should, according to Kāmandaka, maintain his own authority, educate and check princes, take care for his own personal safety, control the army, and put down traitors, oppressive ministers and enemies to peace. Then when he finds himself strong enough he should think of waging war and making a conquest of the Maṇḍala.

Though following closely the precepts of Kauṭilya and adopting his vocabulary, Kāmandaka apparently devotes more attention to the conception and the working of the Maṇḍala, losing sight of, to some extent, the importance of state paternalism. He even quotes the views of authors whose names do not appear in the Arthaśāstra, and in his work we find the names of Maya and Puloman. (Kam. p. 108). To illustrate the possible attitude of kings towards enemies he multiplies examples and instances from the epics etc. and refers to the work of Kārtavīryārjuna and Sūrya, Paraśu-rāma, Hanumat, Arjuna, Śalya, Rukmin, Kaca, Devayani and Dantavakra.

Kāmandaka was a true disciple of Kauṭilya and his metrical rendering of the Kauṭilya was very popular in India. This is proved by the fact that the Indian emigrants to Bali took the Kāmandaka with them and a translation of the book exists there. This shows almost

clearly that the author must have flourished earlier than the 4th century A.D. when the colonization of the Eastern Islands began. Kāmandaka's antiquity is further proved by his preference given to the Arthaśāstra tradition. He rejects, sometimes, the directions given in the metrical *Smṛtis*, which during the period of *Dharma* reaction claimed superiority over the Arthaśāstras (see pp. 109 Travancore edition—on the number of ministers).

Like the Kāmandaka Nītisāra, we have two late Sūtra works attributed to Bṛhaspati and Cāṇakya respectively. The Sūtras attributed to Bṛhaspati is a late work attributed to the sage who in the Arthaśāstra is described as having condemned the Vedas as "the instrument of success on the part of the people who excel in making worldly gains." But the views embodied in the Sūtras are not professedly anti-Vedic, since full protection is extended to the Brahmins who are exempt from capital punishment and the king is asked to avoid heretics. The author of the Sūtras extols the place of knowledge in the human society since by means of knowledge alone riches are gained. Daṇḍanīti is the supreme science and the king should learn how to maintain his hold not only upon his kingdom but all his subjects including his wives and children. To ensure success he should also have recourse to conciliation, diplomacy and, if necessary, to gifts. He should take the counsel of wise men, advanced in age and free from vices, and have his deliberations in secret. He should patronise Brahmins and encourage learning.

Like the Bṛhaspati-sūtra the Sūtras attributed to Cāṇakya, must be regarded as a late work. Though attri-

buted to the great author of the Arthaśāstra, the book devotes more attention to the ways and means of obtaining worldly success and happiness on the part of ordinary individuals than the right way of obtaining sovereignty and extension of dominion on the part of a king. The author who must have flourished not earlier than the 6th and 7th century A.D. extols the place of Dharma in the world and attributes all happiness to Dharma. Next, he describes the importance of Tantra and Āvāpa and devotes a few of the aphorisms to the right way of gaining success in politics in very general terms. This small Niti text book seems to have become very popular and many of the sūtras are incorporated in the Pathyavākya of Ceylon. An English translation of it with quotations of parallel ideas was published by the present author.

Somadeva's Nītvākyaṃṛta:—The next great work which forms part of the later Niti literature is the one composed in the 10th century by Somadeva Sūri a Jain, who though professing a non-Vedic religion calls upon people not to give up their traditional customs and manners and accepts the authority of the *Śrutis* and of the *Smṛtis*. He recognises the social importance of caste. A Southern, born in an age which saw ceaseless wars and political turmoils, Somadeva does not go out of his way to condemn the great Arthaśāstra writers and Niti teachers. In an age of anarchy, he emphasises the supreme importance of political discipline and makes morality and even religion, not to speak of worldly prosperity, subordinate to the political discipline. He seems to regard the state as an end in itself

and goes on to describe the requisite virtues of a true king, who is to be regarded more as a god than a human being. Self-control, education, discipline and the association of the aged and the wise are the primary qualifications of a king. He should refrain from doing injustice or inflict unjust and heavy punishments. He should make a careful selection of advisers. His ministers should be well born, free from vices, natives of the country and not only morally qualified but endowed with practical wisdom. They should not flatter the king, they should deliberate in secret and should number three, five or nine. According to Somadeva, all officials should be loyal to the king especially the chiefs of the army. The High Priest of the king should exercise his art to avert divine calamities while the ambassadors should carry on negotiations on behalf of the king. Spies in various garbs, as we find in the *Arthaśāstra*, should not only collect information but also apprehend wrongdoers. The country should be carefully protected and the administration of justice should be carried on with impartiality and without privileges to anybody. Taxation should not be unjust or excessive. The army should be kept under strict control and must be in readiness to ward off attacks. The forces should be paid regularly and in no case should the army dominate the politics of the country. If allowed to do so the army leaders might embroil the country in useless wars or dynastic quarrels which were so common in the Hindu states of that age. At the same time Somadeva deprecates the use of mercenaries and describes the respective use of the elephant, horse, chariot and foot. Next, having ensured loyalty and safety at home, the king

should make a study of the Maṇḍala and win allies. Somadeva recognises the importance of diplomacy and deprecates severity and treachery in war.

The king should keep his treasury full and devote all means at his disposal to improve the condition of his subjects. He should encourage agriculture, since agriculture was the basis of a state's prosperity. Commerce should be encouraged but the king should do his best to regulate the profits of merchants whom Somadeva, like Kauṭilya, regards as thieves *par excellence*. Unjust raising of prices should be checked and excess profits should be confiscated. Somadeva, thus appears to us remarkable for his clear-sightedness and his practical wisdom. His toleration is praiseworthy since he displays no hatred against Brahmanical traditions.

Other later Jain works:—There are other works composed by Jain writers. The Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra (S.B.E. XLV. translation by Charpentier) gives us the Jain views regarding the duties of a king. We have a dialogue between Indra (in the guise of a Brahmin) and king Nami of Mithila, and Indra enumerates all those precepts which are found in a Brahmanical work on the Arthaśāstra or *Smṛti*. We find in the book the deepest possible influence of the Brahmanic canon, though the Jains make an attempt to give it a Jain character by introducing Nami as one of the speakers. The Laghu Arhannīti by Hemcandra, similarly has nothing Jain in it except the name of the author. Similarly, Mahāsenācārya's Pradyumna-carita repeats the traditional Brahmanic ideas of government. Lomaprabhācārya's Kumārapālāprabodha narrates the

exploits of Kumārapāla Caulukya, refers to his conversion to Jainism and extols his spirit of ahimsā and toleration of Jainism. But it gives us no new ideas, while the story of Kumārapāla's conversion is hardly substantiated by other evidences. Elsewhere we shall say something on the Jain Purāṇas.

Other minor Nīti works:—Minor text-books on Arthaśāstra and Nītisūtras came to be written more or less in a popular and easy style. Many of the teachings of writers on the art of government came to be popularized through works which purported to educate ordinary people on worldly affairs through fables. Of such works one of the most important is the Tantrākhyāyikā composed in Kashmir not later than the 5th century A.D. (edited and translated by Hertel in 1909). The Pañcatantra and the Hitopadeśa are too well known to be described in detail. The last two works were composed by Viṣṇu-Śarmā and Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita respectively to initiate wayward princes into the secrets of the arts of government and the ways of gaining success in war and diplomacy. In the form of fables, the two books, in which the principal actors are birds and beasts emphasise the importance of gaining allies, the dangers of political isolation, the proper selection of opportune moments for waging war and the conditions of making peace. Kingship is always extolled and the requisite qualities of a good king laid down. The dangers of evil counsellors are pointed out and the qualifications of a good and faithful minister enumerated. Kingship in those days was regarded as an art and the authors do their best to teach their pupils the right way of winning the

hearts of their subjects by protecting them from violence and refraining from unjust exactions.

Cyclopædias:—In addition to these, we have Cyclopædias of useful knowledge containing extracts on the art of government. Of these, the *Yuktikalpataru* attributed to King Bhoja Paramāra and the *Mānasollāsa* attributed to a paṇḍit under the Cālukya king Vikramāditya are worthy of note. They deal with almost all the topics of social, political and economic interest, from the qualification of a good ruler and minister to the methods of testing a good gem. But all the directions in these works are based on precepts of older teachers and there is nothing of new speculation.

Śukranīti-sāra:—While these are of little importance to one interested in Hindu political speculations and ideals, one work, though late, ought to claim our attention. It is the *Śukranīti-sāra*, in which we find not only a commendable attempt to sum up the practical wisdom of the ancients but also an effort to formulate new principles regarding the art of government, more especially in view of the changes in the political condition of India. The date of the work is disputed and some writers go so far as to assign it to the 14th or the 15th century of the Christian era. This is, however, going too far, and we believe that the present recension of the *Śukranīti* is based on an older work belonging to the same school of thought.

In Śukra's (the unknown writer of the present redaction of the *Śukranīti*) days the political aspect of the country had changed. Imperialism was a thing of the past and everywhere small principalities of various grades of poli-

tial power and status had come into existence. The writer of the Śukraniti-sāra gives us a list of these, beginning from the humblest of feudatories to a fully sovereign political authority. These are:—

Revenue in Kāṣas					
1. The Sāmanta	...	1	lac	to	3 lacs
2. Maṇḍalika	...	3	lacs	"	10 "
3. Rājan	...	10	"	"	20 "
4. Mahārāja	...	20	"	"	50 "
5. Svarāt	...	50	"	"	100 "
6. Samrāt	...	1	crore	"	10 crores
7. Virāt	...	10	crores	"	50 "
8. Sarvabhauma or Universal Monarch.					

These princes went on warring and anarchy was the natural consequence. Fully conscious of the evils of such a system, Sukra like the great writers of the past believed in the omnipotent service of the state and he extols the service of the monarch to the cause of society, since according to him, without a king society would perish "like a boat in the high seas."

A state according to him, has seven elements, e.g., the king (head), the minister (eye) the ally (ear), the army (mind), the fort (arms), and the territory and the people (legs). The king as the head of the body politic was the source of social progress and prosperity. A good king was the counterpart of the gods while a bad king was a demon. In this conception of royalty the author relies on the epic tradition and following it draws out the parallellism between the royal functions and those of the respective gods. He also emphasises the epic idea that a good king combined in himself all the functions and virtues of a father, mother,

preceptor, protector, friend, the lord of wealth and the god of death. Such being the concept of royalty, the author proceeds to regard the king as the most responsible public servant of the community and, following Kauṭilya and the great writers, not only lays down his qualities and qualifications but also a time-table and daily routine for the king.

According to him, the king should maintain his hold upon his family, and find out responsible posts of honour for his uncles, brothers and sons, taking care to train up his eldest son in the art of government. There should be amity in the family and future wars and partitions of the kingdom should be avoided (I. 344-46).

The king should do nothing without asking first of all the opinion of his advisers or the great officers of the king. These latter should at least be ten in number e.g. (see Ch. II. 69. &c.).

1. The High Priest or Purodhas—the ecclesiastical adviser, a Brahmin learned in the Vedas, in military science, in politics and in war.
2. The Regent or Pratinidhi—who was the most trusted private adviser of the king.
3. The Chief Minister or Pradhāna—who was to supervise all the departments.
4. The Saciva—who was the war minister versed in the military science.
5. The Mantrin—a man well read in politics and who was to advise in political matters.
6. The Prādvivāk—who was the judge.
7. The Paṇḍita—well versed in the Dharmaśāstras.

8. The Sumantaka—who was in charge of revenue matters, income and expenditure.
9. The Amātya—who was versed in the knowledge of customs and usages of the country.
10. The Dūta—or the personally accredited agent of the king who was to be sent out to negotiate treaties and alliances.

Under these officials forming the central executive (of officials who might change their portfolios) the government of the country was to be organised. Villages should be placed under a village officer and the village administration should be carried on by the village tax-gatherer, the clerk, the collector of tolls as well by the news writer. Towns should have such a set of officials. Over each village group there should be a Nāyaka, over ten Nāyakas a Nṛsāmanta—over Nṛsāmantas a Sāmanta and so on. Officials were to be paid either in cash or in land but hereditary interests should not be allowed to grow. All royal officials should wear distinctive badges and all articles belonging to the king should bear royal signs.

The army should be properly trained and remain under a gradation of officers, distinguished by privileges and insignia of office, but soldiers should not be employed in civil administration. High officials should be selected from the members of the higher castes. A Brahmin should be a village-officer, a Kṣatriya should be a tax-gatherer, a Vaisya a collector of tolls, a clerk should be a Kāyastha while menials should be recruited from the Śūdras. In the army commands should be given to Kṣatriyas or in the absence of qualified Kṣatriyas to Brahmins (II 426-433).

The king should take care that his sole suzerain authority and sovereignty is fully consolidated and there should be no one to question this sovereign power (*sadaikanāyakaṃ kuryāt na bahunāyakaṃ* I. 340). He should supervise everything personally, look to the business of every department and make an annual tour of inspection through villages, towns and districts (I. 374). Government officials should be carefully watched and spies should gather information about them. Royal officials should reside in villages and towns, and the king should make it a point to support the people as against his own servants (*na bhṛtyapakṣapātī syāt prajāpakṣaṃ samāśrayet* I. 175). He should even dismiss an official if he is accused by a hundred subjects (*prajāśatena sandiṣṭaṃ tyajed adhi-kāriṇaṃ*) and do the same regarding an Amātya who goes astray.

In addition to maintaining peace and administering justice impartially, the king should do his best to construct roads and build serais where new-comers should be allowed to rest after proper examination of their *bona fides*. To protect peace and maintain order, gambling, drinking, hunting and the bearing of arms should be controlled and watched. Medical practitioners were to be watched and all legal and commercial transactions were to be registered by state officials. The sale of slaves was also to be registered. The deceitful use of false weights and the adulteration of food-stuffs were to be punished while ruffians and law-breakers were to be suppressed mercilessly.

In addition to the discharge of mere police functions, the king, according to the Śukranīti, was to discharge

active social duties, calculated to maintain and improve the moral and material condition of his subjects. He was to encourage agriculture, patronise learning and reward merit. A large amount of royal income ($\frac{1}{4}$?) was to be spent in charity.

In regard to revenue and expenditure, Śukra has many new things to say. Like all the classical writers he recognises the importance of the treasury since on it depended the army and on that the prosperity of the kingdom (IV. 14), and every means should be employed in filling the treasury (IV. 2), only taking care that the people did not suffer from oppression and in that case the king suffered from the consequences of sins (IV. 4-19). The sources of taxation were as of old. (a) Tax on the produce of cultivation of the soil, and this item Śukra raised from one-sixth to one-half (IV. 113-116). (b) Tax on minerals which is one-half in the case of gold. (c) Tax on cattle-rearers. (d) Tax on capitalists, users, shopkeepers and the labour of artisans. (e) Road-cess. (f) Toll on articles of commerce which was to vary from one-thirty-second ($\frac{1}{32}$) to one-sixteenth. (g) Ferries. (h) Judicial fines. (i) Tributes from subordinate princes. (j) Escheats, interests, casual dues and miscellaneous items.

Every year grain and corn were to be kept in stock sufficient for the needs of three years and every year the old stock was to be consumed and new stock made (IV. 26-30). Stocks of all other articles were to be kept. Peasants were to hold royal *pattas*. In times of war and emergency, the king was to exact the hoarded wealth of the rich taking care to return with interest when prosperity returned (IV. 10).

In regard to expenditure Śukra has some original ideas. He calls upon the king to keep half the revenue in the treasury. One-fourth should be devoted to the army, one-twelfth should go to remunerate officials, one-twentyfourth should be the expenses of the king and his family, one-twentyfourth the salaries of high officials while one-twenty-fourth each should be devoted to charity and popular entertainment. Annual budgets should be made.

In regard to royal servants, they were to get decent wages (II. 363) with agreements relating to work and payment, since lower wages turned servants into real enemies. They were to receive leaves and holidays. In cases of illness, they were to get leaves on $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{2}{3}$ of the pay drawn by them. Men with forty years' service were to get pensions equal to $\frac{1}{3}$ of the salary enjoyed by them, while in cases of premature death, their wives and children were to receive pensions. In cases of appoved services, bonuses were to be paid and honour conferred on trusted servants.

In regard to war and foreign policy there is nothing new worthy of mentioning.

Contemporary with the Śukranīti and in some cases later than its composition, other works on Nīti came into existence. Of these the more prominent were the Rājanīti-ratnākara and the Rājanītiprakāsa by the author of the Viramītrodaya. Mediæval Hindu princes patronised Nīti writers and the practice of compiling *Nibandhas* on law and politics continued upto the days of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore under whose patronage the Vivadārṇava-setu was composed by ten pundits.

Political Ideals in the Inscriptions—Like the Nīti

literature the inscriptions help us in forming an idea of the political ideals of the age. Written by court-poets and dignitaries and very often containing inelegant hyperbole and meaningless exaggerations, these inscriptions at least bring before us the ideals which floated before the minds of the people as to the duties and functions of the king, and the end and aim of royal Government. Numerous as they are, they contain passages glorifying the achievements of great kings and their conception of the duties they owed to their subjects. In this respect they are of great value to us and show how in the midst of wars and perennial conflicts for dominion, the princes of India had not altogether forgotten the traditions of the past.

The high idealism reflected by the Andhra inscriptions, especially those of Gautamīputra has already been described. That king prides himself on his protection of all, the tolerance of all creeds and his policy of refraining from all unjust taxation in addition to his great wisdom which saved India from the domination of foreigners and various indigenous enemies. The inscriptions of the Saka Usavadata show how this prince though originally a foreigner came to be actuated by the higher ideals of Indian ethics and by the precepts of Hinduism. The Girnar Inscription of the Kṣatrapa Rudradaman speaks in the same strain. The Saka ruler prides himself upon his being "elected by all the castes," his high conception of regal duty, his efforts for the good of the people, "his habitual repudiations of unjust exactions like the *Pranayas*," his clemency towards his enemies and his determination to take no human life except in war. Next to these—some of the Gupta Inscriptions

throw a flood of light on the principles of good government as well as on the high ideal of regal and ministerial duty. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta describes the king as the equal (*Samah*) [worldly counterpart?] of the great deities, namely, Dhanada or Kuvera, Indra, Varuṇa, and Antaka or Yama. This was clearly an echo of the sacerdotal concept of royalty found in the epics and the Smṛtis. Similar idealism is found in Kumāragupta's Bhilsad Inscription (G.I. p. 44), the Bhithari Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta (G.I. p. 54) and the Mathura Inscription of Candragupta II (G.I. p. 28; cf. धनद-वरुणोन्द्रान्तकसमस्य) Samudragupta is also described as a god dwelling on earth though he was a mortal only in celebrating the rites and observances of mankind (G.I. p. 15).

These are indications of the glorification of royalty, which had gained ground in India. But perhaps the best expression to the contemporary idealism regarding the type of good government is found in the Girnar Inscription of Skandagupta, and there it is laid down that while the king (who had to fight continuously for his partimony with foreign enemies) ruled, there was in his kingdom no man devoid of Dharma, no one who was disheartened nor one who suffered from wants (G.I. p. 62; तस्मिन् नृपे शासति नैव कश्चित् धर्मादपेक्षो मनुजः प्रजासु । आर्तो दरिद्रो व्यसनी कदर्यो दण्डेन नवा यो सुशपीडितः स्यात्) an echo of the idealism found in one of the oldest Upaniṣads as well as in the Great epic (cf. Śānti, ch. 77 न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न कदर्यो न मद्यपः । नानाद्विताग्निनायज्वा मामकान्तद्रमाविशः ॥) where the king of Kekaya describes his own government. Next to the Ideals of royal duty some more light is thrown

on ministerial duty and the knowledge of the art of government. Thus in the Girnar Inscription an ideal minister is described as well versed in the four branches of policy, e.g., acquisition of wealth, protection of things acquired and their bestowal on the worthy (cf. the four aims laid down by Kauṭilya). The good minister is described as being endowed with the highest qualities and qualifications free from all temptations (सर्वोपधाभिश्च विशुद्धबुद्धिः cf. सर्वोपधाशुदान् मलिणः कुर्वीत) and not only engaged in doing good to humanity but also discharged from moral liabilities by his performance of duties (आयुष्यभाषोपगतान्तरात्मा सर्वस्य लोकस्यहिते प्रवृत्तः).

Some of the Inscriptions praise ministers like Śāva and Virasena or a governor like Parnadatta or his son Cakrapālita, many of whom were hereditary servants of the dynasty. Śāva speaks of his obtaining the office of *Sāndhivigrahika* through hereditary claim. (अन्वयप्राप्तसाचिव्यव्यापृत सान्धिविग्रहः—See Udayagiri, G.I. p. 35).

The Mandasore Inscription describes the high social and political ideals of the members of the autonomous guilds of Daśapura. The members of the guild not only distinguished themselves by their excellence in technical skill but also in the higher sciences as well as in the art of war.

Vākātakas—The few Vākāṭaka Inscriptions which mainly dwell upon the high descent of these princes, or the performance of the Aśvamedha, Rajasūya and Vājapeya or the patronage of Brahmins are not silent on the duties or ideals of kings. Thus Vākāṭka Pravarasena compares himself with Yudhisthira and in one inscription (I.A. II 243) glorifies his Dharmavijya. In other inscriptions, the great personal qualities of these princes are extolled.

The Valabhi Inscriptions not only glorify the great learning and skill of these rulers, but speak repeatedly of their subjects and their regard for the rules of morality. Thus in regard to Droṇa-siṃha, it is mentioned that he followed the laws of Manu and the sages and was devoted like Yudhiṣṭhira to the path of Dharma. (मानवादिप्रणीतविधिविधान धर्मा धर्मराज इव विहितविनयव्यवस्था— G.I. no. 38).

Dharasena's intellectual attainments are repeatedly mentioned while he is compared with Dharmarāja (I.A.V. 275). Other kings like Guhasena prided themselves upon their protection of the weak, the preservation of religions grants and upon averting calamities befalling subjects.

We find the same idealism in the inscriptions of the kings of the South. The Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśin II extols the king's attainments, conquests and services to the cause of religion and learning. He was the abode of truth (Satyā-śraya) and checked the wickedness of the Kali age (E.I. XVIII. p. 260).

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kriṣṇa speaks of his government being based on truth (I.A. XIII. 66-68). He never oppressed his subjects (I.A. XIII. p. 281).

An inscription of Vikramāditya Calukya (E.I. XIII. 173) speaks of his suppression of the wicked and the protection of the righteous. Another inscription describes a prince as a Brhaspati in the Kali age and a Kauṭilya to his enemies (I.A. XVI. p. 30). Western Calukya inscriptions speak in the same strain. The kings are identified with Yudhiṣṭhira (I.A. XVI. p. 35).

The Pallavas do the same thing. Thus in the Sanskrit Inscription of Viṣṇugopa he is described not only as virtuous and well versed in good government but also as one who had assumed royalty merely as an ascetic with the vow of ruling and maintaining subjects according to Dharma (प्रबुद्धधर्मसचयस्य प्रजापालनदक्षस्य प्रजापालनसंरक्षणोद्यतस्ततः सन्नव्रतदीक्षितस्य I.A. V. 51-52). The Pallava Rājasimha (S. II. I. Kanchi Inscription) is described as one who resembled Manu by his deeds. He also claimed to have destroyed the pride of Kali; subdued lust and other internal enemies and was ever devoted to truth, and the *Trivarga*. (Parmamali Ins. Mad. rep. 1916). Dharma thrived under him while sin decayed. The Pallava Paramesvara-varman II speaks sincerely of his conquest of Kali and claimed to have ruled according to Manu and Bṛhaspati (Kasakkudi Plates).

A lord of Cikura speaks of his having followed the path of past kings like Dilīpa, Bhagīratha, Rāma etc. (I.A. XIII. p. 106). Other princes speak in the same strain. Mahārāja Avinita describes his kingly rule as being made solely with the desire of governing people righteously (सम्यक् प्रजापालनमात्राभिमत राज्यप्रयोजनस्य I.A. V. 38 &c).

The Eastern Cālukya Ammarāja boasts that his kingdom was full of well-ripened grains, that the cows yielded milk and that the land was free from calamities, distress and fears (S. I.I. p. 49). The real significance of the two words *ammā* (mother) and *rājan* (king) united in his name. Bhima of the same family boasted that for thirty years he ruled "like a mother," granted the fruits of their desire to the distressed, helpless and the sick and associated himself with the twice-born, ascetics and poets. (E.I. XVII.

p. 234). Vallala Viṣṇuvardhana speaks of his complete protection of the Śūdras and women (I.A. II, 296).

The Colas speak in the same strain. Thus Vikrama Cola, the merciless conqueror, boasts that he followed the laws of Manu and protected all his subjects like a sweet mother (E.I.I. III pt. 2, p. 184). In the inscriptions of Bengal and Assam we find the same ideas. The suppression of *Mātsyanyāya* is repeatedly mentioned in the inscriptions of Dharmapala and Bhāskaravarman. Prominent Pāla kings are compared to Pṛthu, Rāma and other great heroes. Nārāyaṇapāla's gifts are compared with those of Karna, the Epic hero. Bhāskaravarman is compared with Śivi for bounty and with Bṛhaspati for knowledge. The Assam king Indrapāla is assigned thirty-two titles. Samācāra-deva of Bengal is likened to Yayāti, Nahuṣa and Ambariṣa.

The Poets—We pass on next to the writings of the poets and authors of the classical literature for information regarding their political ideals which are certainly the reflections of the period during which they lived. Thus, the writings of Bhāsa whose date still remains disputed has something to say on contemporary ideas on politics and political ideals. Bhāsa believes in the traditional social order, extols *Dharma* and honours the Brāhmaṇas. The *Avimāraka* points out the importance of espionage and secrecy in deliberation. The king feels the heavy burden of royal responsibility while his ministers lament their sad lot since they gained little for their successful projects but were liable to be denounced if their plans miscarried. Yaugandharāyana's loyalty appeals to all even now. Duryodhana in the *Dūtavākyaṃ* extols the value of

supreme domination over all which is to be won by the sword alone.

When we come to Kālidāsa, we find the great author well-versed in the teachings of the Arthaśāstra. The education of an heir-apparent as described in the *Raghuvamśa* shows the poet's intimate knowledge of the contemporary art of government. Some of his dramas like the *Mālavikāgnimitra* are realistic, but little information as to real politics is available from these. The only point which interests us is the reference to the *Mantripariṣat* under the Mitras or Suṅgas. Elsewhere, while a picture of real politics is wanting, the high idealism of the period relating to the concept of regal duty is clearly reflected in the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Śakuntalā*. These books show that Kālidāsa was a believer in the paternal ideal of kingship in as much as he describes the king as the real father of his subjects, though their parents begat them (*sa pitā pitarastāsām kevalam janmahetavah*). The king, maintained by the grant of one-sixth, (*ṣaṣṭhāṃśavṛttiḥ*) was to toil for others, devoid of personal pleasures (*svasukha-nirbhilāṣaḥ khidyase lokahetoḥ*). He was ever saddled (*aviśramo lokatantrādhikaraḥ*) and suffered from his great responsibilities like the weight of the umbrella held by the hand, which gave shade to many (*rājyaṃ svahastadhrta-daṇḍamivūta-patram*). All these ideals are clearly and beautifully put in the mouth of the herald who sings the praise of the king, (*Śakuntalā* Act. V). Like most of the classical writers Kālidāsa was a believer in universal dominion but as the real meaning of imperialism was forgotten in his days, he extols the traditional Aśvamedha and the satisfaction of the con-

queror with the submission and tribute of weak kings. This type of conquest he applauds as the real *Dharmaviṣaya*.

Bhāravi—who belonged to the 6th century A.D. attempted to give an exposition of the art of government in his *Kirātārjunīyam*. But he has nothing original in his epic. The art of government to him was nothing but the means of consolidation of internal sovereignty and the subjugation of enemies. He extols the importance of the army and espionage and the different ways of attaining political objectives (*viz.*, *sāma*, *dāna*, *bheda* and *danḍa*).

Danḍin—an intelligent and forceful writer of no mean versatility, gives us a picture of the real politics in his *Daśakumāracarita*. As has been pointed out by Dr. Shamasastri, the author had an intimate knowledge of the *Kauṭiliya* and he makes a clear display of the means and tactics employed in contemporary politics. He exposes the inherent weakness of the courts where intrigues played a very prominent part, but he extols the value of the higher knowledge of *Dharma* and political science and emphasises the importance of education and moral discipline in princes. The acquisition of wealth contributed to the consolidation of royal power and might in his days was the basis of sovereign authority. Kings must exert themselves to outwit enemies and to consolidate authority by constant watchfulness and with the loyalty of subjects.

The *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu is dominated by the idealism of the day and the author makes King *Cintāmaṇi* the embodiment of all virtues, social and political. In it he has very little to say about practical politics.

Baṇabhaṭṭa—Subandhu's close successor, and a writer of extraordinary literary talent, shows his intimate knowledge of the art of government. But remarkable as he is in his literary merits he displays very little originality in political matters. Harṣa was his hero and he extols his military exploits, sporadic conquests and his meaningless charity after the imitation of Aśoka on whose life he had modelled that of his own. Bāṇa shows his worldly wisdom in the advice given by the minister Sukanāsa to Candrāpiḍa, and he points out the evils to which a young prince is liable to be a prey and the resultant consequences. His views on the art of government do not differ from those of his contemporaries but his denunciation of the consolidation of sovereignty after the Kauṭīliyan ideal shows how the decay of Indian political genius had brought in a mentality which extolled meaningless wars for the attainment of a temporary exaltation by powerful kings, without working for the foundation of a consolidated empire strong enough to save India from the attacks of foreign enemies.

A large number of other writers appeared on the eve of India's political downfall but they have nothing new in them. Even king Harṣa figured as a dramatist but there is very little information on political life and ideals. The author of *Bhaṭṭikāvya* has nothing remarkable to his credit, while Bhavabhūti extols Rama's extreme devotion to his subjects' interest and this compels him to banish Sītā, his beloved. Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha*, is an epic with traditional ideals and the poet gives an exposition of the ways and means enabling kings to overcome their enemies

at home and abroad. Conquest, domination of the Maṇḍala and the outwitting of enemies by all possible means are the main things which occupy his attention. The *Mudrārākṣasa* attributed to Viśakhadatta similarly extols the genius of Cāṇakya and incidentally gives an exposition of a game of successful intrigue, espionage and counter-espionage attributed to Cāṇakya. He presents to us a political order characterized by an absence of scruples and by universal suspicion. The Cāṇakya of *Mudrārākṣasa* is a super-machiaval and not the great Indian political philosopher whose remarkable foresight, constructive genius and wide outlook does honour to any country or any age. Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa's *Veṇīsaṃhāra*, though stirring and forceful in its diction has a narrow view of politics.

The Kashmir poet Kṣemendra in his *Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī*, *Bhārata-mañjarī* and *Rāmāyaṇa-mañjarī* preserves nothing but the older ideas and ideals. He extols the traditional ideas of society, eulogises the importance of kingship and refers to the election of Manu as king. His picture of the administrative system does not materially differ from that in the Arthaśāstra and the Dharmaśāstras. In his *Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā*, he extols instances of virtue and has very little to say on politics. There are numerous other works but very little historical or political data is obtainable from them. The *Naisadhacarita* of the poet Śrī-Harṣa discusses political matters but only in a conventional way.

The story literature of which the best extant examples are the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* of Somadeva, the *Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī* and the Jain *Kathakoṣa* describe only the con-

ventional ideas and state of affairs. The Kathāsaritsāgara contains many romantic stories but otherwise it throws no important light on the period. Occasionally, acts of tyranny or high-handedness of kings are mentioned. The romantic and didactic elements predominate in all of these books. The Jain Kathākoṣa, however, extols the spiritual element in life.

Historical Works—Next, we have a number of historical and biographical works of the mediæval Hindu period, and of these the more important are Bilhana's Vikramāṅkadeva-carita, Kalhana's Rājatarangini, Merutuṅgacārya's Prabandha-cintāmaṇi, the Rāma-carita of Sandhyākara Nandin and the Nava-sāhasāṅkadeva-carita by Padmagupta. But these writers do not throw any new light on the political conditions of the day, except extolling the virtues of the heroes selected by them like Vikramāditya of Kalyan, Jayasingha Siddharaja or Rāmapāla of Bengal, who are described as possessing all conceivable moral qualities. They are all munificent towards Brahmins, patrons of learning and kind to their subjects. All these heroes are credited with great conquests and are great fighters. Leniency and charity to subjects, patronage to Brahmins and poets and remission of taxes are eulogised in the case of each king and we find echoes of paternalism.

But Kalhana preserved a truly realistic account of things and his account of tyrants already given cause pain and indignation to his readers (see Supra, Bk. X). The maxims of Lalitāditya are those of a crafty tyrant while the horrible fiscal tyranny or acts of cruelty attributed to rulers like Unmattāvantī, Didda or Harṣa show clearly

that in spite of the injunctions of the Śāstras, tyranny had ceased to have any limitations.

Political ideals in the Purāṇas—Next to the inscriptions and works on Nīti, the Purāṇas contain much of the tradition and ideals of the period. They are, as is well known, eighteen in number and contain the traditional account of creation, the early history of mankind, the reign of the Manus, genealogies of the sages and mythical kings, history of the various dynasties that ruled in different parts of India in addition to philosophical matters like the causes that will lead to the destruction of the world and the ways of attainment of salvation. They inculcate the importance of Bhakti and extol the greatness of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śakti, Surya, as well as some other deities or their incarnations.

These are their general contents, but in addition they contain chapters on various subjects. Some Purāṇas devote attention to grammar and literature, others devote sections to medicine while not a few of them have something to say on the art of war, the right conduct for kings or the true ways of maintaining the social order. In regard to these, much information is available from the Agni, Vāyu, Matsya and the Bhāgavata Purāṇas.

Without going through the contents of each of these Purāṇas, it will be best for us to summarise their main teachings on polity and sociology. To begin with the traditional account of creation, we find that all the Purāṇas postulate more or less the existence of an ideal state of nature. This was in the Kṛta or Satya Yuga when men delighted in virtue, respected each others' rights, had no wants and were free from sorrow and diseases. This is

found in the Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa which after describing the existence of an ideal state of nature marks the social decline coming with the Tretā and the following Yugas. According to the *Vāyu* and the *Kūrma* Purāṇas, men were in the primitive ideal stage supported by Kalpavṛkṣas while according to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the wants of men were supplied by the Siddhis. But when men became sinful they had to work for their food and necessities of life. Some of the Purāṇas go further and hold like the *Vāyu* that in this ideal condition there were no distinction of the high and the low.

Gradually, the Satya Yuga passed away and people began to fall foul with each other. They became greedy and lascivious, and to maintain social order, kingship was instituted at the instance of Brahman the Almighty. Conventions and rules were made and the conduct of kings, Brāhmaṇas and the other castes laid down. King Veṇa proved unrighteous, mixed the castes, oppressed the virtuous, forbade religious practices and had to be killed by the Ṛṣis. Out of his body Pṛthu arose. He was made king and ruled righteously. The story of Veṇa is contained in all the Purāṇas and go to prove that though the king is regarded as the upholder of moral order, tyranny justifies his deposition and death. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, while it denounces Veṇa's tyranny, extols the virtue of Pṛthu.

All the *Purāṇas* uphold the traditional social ideal, and extol the Brahmin and his social privileges. They all hold Dharma to be the basis of moral order and the maintenance of Dharma is vested in the king. The royal office

is highly extolled and the king is described as the mundane counterpart of the great gods or the Lokapālas. Without the king's exercise of the regal functions moral order will pass away and anarchy or war come into existence. So a king should be obeyed, and to oppose him is a sin. The Bhāgavata like the Manu Samhitā goes so far as to promulgate the doctrine of passive resistance. The state of anarchy which results from cessation of regal authority is described in some of the Purāṇas and in detail in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

The duties of the king are laid down by the *Purāṇas*. These may be summarised as follows :—

1. Maintenance of the social and moral order.
2. Protection of the kingdom from foreign enemies, protection of life and property at home and the impartial administration of justice according to law.
3. The patronage of Brahmins and ascetics, devotion to religion, performance of sacrifices, and the maintenance of widows, orphans and the sick.
4. Performance of acts of charity and devotion to the material progress of subjects.

King's Duties—The king according to all the *Purāṇas*, especially the Agni Purāṇa (which devotes a great part of its attention to polity) is the central figure in the body politic, the chief of the traditional seven elements of a state, and the fountain-head of authority and justice. He is to hold office for the public good. He should regard his life as a great vow and should hold on a dedicated existence. Protection is his highest duty and failure in his duties brings sin and a future life in hell for him. Through pro-

tection he obtains one-sixth of the merits of his subjects and through failure a sixth part of their sin. He is to have a daily routine of work, would look to business of every department, should hear the complaints of all, administer justice and hold his daily durbar. Free from vices and dissipations he should make it a point to win over the goodwill of his subjects. He should punish the wicked without mercy, safeguard his subjects from the oppression of his officers, should grant patronage to Brahmins and ascetics, build temples and endow divine worship. Last of all, he should feed the aged, the imbecile, the widow and the orphan. He should encourage agriculture and industry and see that under his government every one got an opportunity of living peacefully and earning his own livelihood. Brahmins should be respected, freed from taxes, and should be freed from corporal punishment. They should be also amply rewarded. The Agni Purāṇa goes so far as to say that $\frac{1}{5}$ of the revenue of the state should be distributed among the Brahmins.

Government according to the Agni Purāṇa—Almost all the Purāṇas devote chapters on the art of government, but of those the Agni Purāṇa enters into details, in the form of a dialogue between Agni and Vasiṣṭha. The king, according to it, is to regard his life as a continuous and unceasing vow for the welfare of subjects (Ch. 218).

As his existence is vital to the body politic, the throne shall never remain vacant and on the demise of a king his successor should be immediately announced, without any reference to auspicious or inauspicious moments or the laws of *Aśauca*. He is to be the central or basic element in the

state with its seven limbs and his business should be the rule of virtue and the regime of justice. By ruling righteously he becomes entitled to a sixth part of the religious merit of his subjects and the failure to do justice or rule righteously condemns him to hell. The king is to be a source of pleasure to subjects and his greatest wealth arises from out of the loyalty of his subjects (cf. Kau अनुरागे सार्वभुयम्). Protection and maintenance of subjects is his only sacrifice. He is to live for his subjects like a pregnant woman who takes food for the nourishment of the child in the womb (Chs. 223, 225). While extolling the king's services, the Purāṇa harps on the parallelism between the duties of the king and those of the gods (Ch. 226). The king is to learn the sciences which are the same as in the Arthaśāstra. The Agni Purāṇa, like the Arthaśāstra, gives us a daily routine of the king and advises him to appoint advisers and ministers. The Agni Purāṇa mentions among these, the Purohita, the Amātya, the Pratihāra, the Sāndhivigrahika, the Dhanādhyakṣa, the Durgādhyakṣa, the Astrādhyakṣa and other officials in charge of various departments, after ascertaining their qualities and weakness. He should maintain an efficient and powerful army, should guard his frontiers, appoint officers over single villages, groups of 10 and 100 villages and employ numerous spies in various garbs (Ch. 241). He should take care always to guard his person.

He should be on the alert to save his people from the oppression of enemies of peace, as well as from high-handed officials, especially the Kāyasthas. He should also make arrangements for the administration of justice both civil and criminal (Chs. 227, 253). The Purāṇa mentions the

eighteen heads of law and the eight limbs of justice (*aṣṭāṅga*). We have passages on the various heads of adjudication. We find rules of taking evidence and the mention of ordeals. Some passages bear upon the rights of labourers, and the law of usuary (Ch. 253). Lastly, the *Purāṇa* echoes the traditional idea that if the king failed to find out the thief, he was to make good the loss of his subjects caused by thieves from his own treasury (Ch. 253-262), which is an echo of the view of the *Arthaśāstra*. In criminal law, barbarous punishments are found mentioned in the work (Ch. 227).

Discussing taxation, the *Purāṇa* extols the importance of *Koṣa* or treasury and points out that everything depends upon money. The items of taxation are mentioned but *Brāhmaṇas* are exempted from all payments. Duty on articles of commerce was to be levied so as to keep some profits to merchants (Ch. 223). Mines were not to be exhausted recklessly. Laws to regulate the dealings of merchants and traders are found (Ch. 258). The adulteration of foodstuffs, dishonesty in commercial dealings, the use of false weights are to be severely punished. The regulation of profits and prices is enjoined in strong terms and is regarded as one of the primary duties of the king. Cornering or undue raising of prices was to be sternly checked (Ch. 258). All these clearly show the influence of the *Arthaśāstra*. The *Purāṇa* then mentions the *Vyasanas* of a kingdom and like the *Arthaśāstra*, it makes a distinction between *Daiva* and *Mānuṣa* *Vyasanas*. In connection with the first it mentions the catastrophes caused by fire, water, flood, disease, famine and pestilence. The chief

Vyasaṇas, according to the Purāṇa, are Rājyavyasana, Mantrivyaṇas, Sāmantavyasana, Koṣavyasana, Daṇḍavyasana, Rāṣṭravyaṇas, Durgavyasana and Balavyasana: It calls upon kings to remedy evils of all kinds by their exertions.

In regard to war and foreign policy, the Purāṇa contains some information. The army with its five sections (Maula, Bhṛtaka, Śreṇī, Suhrit, Aṭavika) must be well-organised while various kinds of forts are to be built. The various kinds of Vyūhas, as well as the way of dealing with an enemy are mentioned in detail. In all these matters we find the influence of the Arthaśāstra and the later Nīti literature. Weapons are mentioned while much attention is devoted to signs, portents, *mantras* and magical rites to ensure victory. In all these we find a great influence of astrology and a belief in signs and portents.

The Purāṇa mentions the Maṇḍala and gives us the traditional means of self-preservation and conquest (Ch. 244). The four kinds of diplomatic emissaries (e.g. Dūta, Nīṣṭhārtha, Mitārtha, Śāṣanāharaka) are enumerated as well as sixteen kinds of treaties. It mentions the different aspects of state relations and gives directions as to the best ways of gaining success (Ch. 244). There is nothing new in these matters.

As in most works on the art of government, we find various other topics, namely, the building of towns and forts, notes on agriculture and manuring, dissertations on gems and metals, and other allied topics.

Jain Purāṇas—Many of the cosmological ideas found in the Purāṇas find place in Jain Purāṇas modelled on their

Hindu counterparts. The Jains postulate a number of creation-cycles and presuppose an ideal state of nature in the beginning of creation. The earliest age was an age of plenty, virtue and immortality, when all the wants of mankind were supplied by the Kalpa-Vṛkṣas. In course of time according to the Ādipurāṇa, these blessings became fewer and people elected Pratiśruti as the first Kulakara or patriarch. Gradually the Kalpa-trees became fewer and men's troubles became greater and at last the trees of gift disappeared. Social changes were introduced at the instance of successive patriarchs. Men's lives became artificial and instead of being above wants they had to exploit the earth. Rṣava-deva, the last patriarch divided men into three castes (Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras) and established six occupations. Social life sprang up, towns and villages were built, and as society became more and more complex, the principle of chastisement for wrong-doing was promulgated and Political existence came into being.

In the Jain Purāṇas, the theory of castes is rather different though modelled on that of the Puruṣa Sūkta. Brāhmaṇas are admitted as forming a separate caste, but the real Brāhmaṇa was one endowed with the highest qualities of a Jina. In the Uttara Purāṇa, there is nothing new. The Harivaṃśa, ascribes everything to Rṣabha-deva. In the Laghu-Arthanīti, the Jaina scholar Hemacandra inculcated upon the duties and obligation of kings. There is nothing new in it and only contemporary Hindu ideas find expression in it.

The Smṛtis and Nibandhas—In the later Smṛtis and Nibandhas, we find practically a continuance of old ideals.

Brhaspati has nothing new to say on the duties and obligations of kings, though his contributions to various branches of civil and commercial law, especially the law relating to corporations, guilds and joint-stock companies cannot be minimised.

Katyāyana, though devoting the greatest part of his treatise to Vyavahāra or civil law, has little to say on the art of government. But a few of the verses attributed to him are of great importance. In these he eulogises the great service of kings to their subjects. The king was but the god Indra incarnating as a man for the good of humanity (सुराश्चक्षुषतः स्वर्गात्, नृपरूपेण तिष्ठति).

His primary duties were, according to Katyāyana, the protection of subjects and the chastisement of wrong-doers. He was to maintain the widow, the orphan and the aged without means. According to the law-giver the king was the *parens-patrae* of his subjects, *per excellence* being the "home of the homeless, the protector of those without protection, the son of the son-less and the father of the fatherless." Cf.

अनाथस्य नृपो नाथस्त्वगृहस्य नृपो गृहम् ।

अपुत्रस्य नृपः पुत्रो ह्यपितुः पार्थिवः पिता ॥

In lieu of this great social service the king was entitled to the usufructus of a sixth part of the produce of his subjects' fields in addition to other cesses and dues. He who did his duties properly was entitled to all this in lieu of his protection, but a king who failed to discharge his duties properly was a sinner (Appendix I to Katyāyana-mata-samgraha by the present author). Cf.

भूस्वामी तु स्मृतो राजा नान्यद्रव्यस्य सर्वदा ।
 तत्फलस्य हि षड्भागं प्राप्नुयान्नाम्यथैव तु ॥
 भूतानां तन्निवासित्वात् स्वामित्वं तेन कीर्तितम् ।
 तत्क्रिया बलिषड्भागम् शुभाशुभनिमित्तजम् ॥
 अन्यायेन हि यो राष्ट्रं कर्तुं दण्डं च पार्थिवः ।
 राज्यभागं च शुल्कं चाप्याददीत स पापभाक् ॥

Nārada gives us the traditional account of the origin of royalty. He harps on the evils gaining ground in the world on account of the lapse of primeval *Dharma* and the eternal conflict of men. After describing the evils of *Mātsya-nyāya*, he points out that to save society from such troubles the king holds the rod of chastisement (*Danda-dhara*) and he alone among men was the lord of himself (*Asvatantra*). The right of ruling his subjects was acquired by the king by his *tapas* (*tapah-kṛitāḥ prajā rajñā*). He represented the prerogatives of the five great gods *i.e.*, Agni, Indra, Soma, Yama and Dhanada. Protection of subjects was his primary duty (*tasya dharmah prajā-rakṣā*) and this protection of subjects entitled him to exact taxes which were but his wages. (*balih sa tasya vihitah prajā-pālana-vetanam*).

Parāśara—There are other legal treatises, but unfortunately most of these books are fragmentary and they devote most of their attention to *Ācāra* and *Prāyaścitta*. The *Parāśara Smṛti* has very little to say on the political ideals or the administrative system. It deals mainly with *Ācāra*, *Aśuca*, the duties of castes and their privileges.

The works of Vyāsa and Saṅkha-Likhita are fragmentary. The views of these are quoted by Nibandha writers, but there is very little information as to political life.

After these metrical Smṛties we have a large number of legal commentaries and Nibandhas which continue the old tradition together with later modifications and changes which are justified and supported by quotations from old texts including many from the purāṇas and upa-purāṇas. We have a large number of commentators on the *Manu Samhitā* of whom the more important are Govindarāja, Medhatithi and Kulluka. Of the commentators of Yājñavalkya, the most important name is that of Vijñāneśvara whose *Mitākṣarā* which has exercised a very great influence upon the later course of Hindu civil law and its authority is recognised to-day almost over the whole of India by British courts. The commentary of Apararka, a Konkan prince of the 12th century is also worthy of note. The commentary *Mitākṣarā* has in its turn been commented upon and the Bālaṃbhaṭṭa *Ṭikā* shows a great legal acumen. The commentary of Asahāya on the *Nārada Smṛiti* is an old work while we have a commentary, the *Vaijayanti*, on the *Viṣṇu Smṛti*, composed in the 17th century. In course of time, many more such commentaries have been written.

The Nibandhas were composed for the guidance of later princes, judges and administrators. Of these Nibandhas, the more important are the *Parāśara Mādhavya* attributed to Mādhavācārya of Vijayanagar (14th century), that of Jimūtabāhana whose *Dāyabhāga* is of great authority in Bengal, *Smṛticandrikā* of Devaṇa Bhaṭṭā, the *Viramitrodaya*, a huge encyclopedia, of which portions are devoted to law and politics, attributed to Mitramiśra, the volumes attributed to Candēśvara, Vācaspati Miśra

and Raghunandana of Bengal as well as the Vyabahāramayukha, and the Nirñayasindhu have exercised a great influence upon the later law courts and judicial administration. In all these Nibandhas, we have the old tradition in law and politics continued with some modifications. Everywhere, we find the king's authority extolled and his duty of maintaining his subjects and administering justice impartially are repeatedly laid down. The king's authority was unquestioned and there were no checks to his absolutism. But though everywhere we find the stereotyped political life, yet, works like the Rājanītiprakāśa, attributed to Mitrāmīśra draw our attention to the traditions and practices on the Vedic and Brāhmaṇic age. Already something has been said about the views of Mitrāmīśra on the accession and coronation of the king. (See page 204 part II). He gives a prominent place to the king's coronation oath.

Nibandhas as well as handbooks on the art of government continued to be composed during very late periods. A minister of the Nizam-shahi ruler of Ahmednagar wrote the Nrisinha-prasāda in the 16th century while as late as the 19th century, a work, the Vivadārnava-setu was composed by ten pandits of the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore. A prince of Panna patronised a pandit to publish a work of similar nature.

BOOK XII

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL EVOLUTION

I

Political Decline and Fall

Having traced the different phases of social and political evolution in India, we now pass on to the history of the decline and fall of Hindu political life. Even to the last days of Hindu independence, the intellectual activity of the people remained undisturbed, but this could not arrest the impending political decay which ended with the conquest of India by the Mussalmans. As we have already indicated, perpetual disunion, the decay of the genius of consolidation, contempt for political unity and the predominance of clan or dynastic interest weakened the political structure in India. From the 7th century, the menace of victorious Islam became apparent, but still no great ruler appeared to unify the peoples of India under one sceptre. The reign of Harṣa saw the conquest of the Mekran coast and the first Arab raids on the western coast of India. About half a century later, Sindh passed to the Muslim invaders, welcomed and assisted by the local Buddhists. The progress of Islam was retarded for a time by a number of causes and circumstances but within two centuries the Turks of Ghazni, established on the north-western frontier, took up the task of conquer-

ing India. The genius of Mahmud annexed the Punjab and sent a thrill of horror throughout Hindustan by his lightning raids. Further progress eastward was retarded for some time on account of the weakness of the Ghaznivites themselves, but a century and a half later the task of conquering Hindustan was taken up by the sultans of Ghor. Resisted by the Rajput rulers of Northern India for a time, the Ghori succeeded in setting one Rajput prince against another, and when the Cahamāna Prthvirāja was slain at the second battle of Tarain the flood-gates of Islamic conquest were opened for ever and the tide of conquest swept over the whole of northern India. The Turki sultanate of Delhi was established and under these vigorous Turki rulers Islamic rule was consolidated practically all over northern India. The Deccan and the south resisted for about a century but with Alauddin Khilji and Muhammad Tughlak all the rich yet enervated monarchies succumbed to the attacks of the Turki armies.

II

Political Downfall and its Causes

The causes of Indian downfall have been explored by many historians. Some have attributed it merely to the disintegrating influence of caste, some to the over-influence of religion and asceticism, some to the inherent weakness of the Hindu character as well as the enervation, both of body and mind arising out of a damp climate, some to the conflict of religions.

The subject is a complicated one and requires a careful analysis. Apparently, political disunion, savage internecine feuds and horrible reprisals on all sides had gone on for centuries and undermined the political frame of India. But the ground for disunion had been prepared by various causes and circumstances. From the earliest times, the desire for unification, social and political, and the establishment of homogeneity at all costs had been absolutely lacking. The jar of racial differences, and the conflict of antagonistic social ideals had all but contributed to a temporary settlement of divergences by means of compromises. The older type of imperialism aimed merely at hegemony and not the consolidation of one central political authority. In social and religious matters the same spirit of compromise predominated. Hence, there was an inherent looseness characterising both social and political fabric. Later social complexities and religious upheavals had added or contributed to this. From the 6th century B.C. the advent of strong imperialist statesmen and the teachers of the Arthaśāstra school, contributed to the holding up of the

ideal of a strongly centralised secular state as well as the establishment of an all-India empire. The Mauryas succeeded in uniting the whole country under their sceptre but the repentance and the pacificism of Aśoka undermined the fabric of the Imperial structure and his religious propaganda all but annihilated it. This brought about a foreign domination for three centuries and when there was a resuscitation of the Hindu powers, the idea of an all-India empire was never revived. As pointed out already, India came to be divided into a large number of political divisions each dominated by a strong suzerain power. In course of time, the number of such states multiplied and on the eve of the Mahomedan conquest, the clannish patriotism of the Rajputs did more harm than good to the country. Thus India lost her political unity and became a mere 'geographical expression.'

The spirit of local separatism became stronger every day. The number of petty dynasties multiplied and a feudal organisation dominated all the principalities. As pointed out already, the people ceased to take an active part in politics and the history of the period was simply the history of short-lived dynasties fighting for supremacy. Everything was left to the kings and to the masses were relegated the duty of producing the necessities of life, paying tribute to their masters and of obeying their commands implicitly. Whatever other activities they had, were confined to their own co-operative undertakings in the village-communities, the guilds and the municipalities. These liberties in their turn undermined the power and authority of the kings and the idea of political soli-

clarity practically disappeared from the country. The demoralisation and apathy of the people is apparent from the narratives of Muslim historians who describe how the cavalry raids of Mahmud were absolutely unopposed and mark the apathy of the people in general. The work of defence had been monopolised by kings and the people were not only apathetic but remained absolutely powerless to resist the march of an enemy either Indian or foreign. Indian princes too, had become so devoid of moral and political sense that far from uniting against the common enemy, most of them thought it expedient to ensure their safety by forming alliances with extra-Indian powers whose main objective was to complete the subjugation of the country at the earliest opportunity.* Some princes indeed, like Viśaladeva Cahamāna or the Gahadavala Govinda made sporadic efforts to stem the tide of foreign invasion, but they never thought of making a common and united stand against the early Muslim invaders.

Political downfall was hastened by intellectual decay as well as social and religious demoralisation. The vigour of the Indian intellect had long been undermined. The ramification of caste, the multiplication of sub-castes and the growth of mutual jealousies among caste-people destroyed the idea of a social whole which had been built up out of diverse ethnic elements. The idea of harmony was displaced by discord. Too much of a strong ban was laid on interdining and intermarriage. The Varnas ceased to exist and castes came to existence. Perhaps the narrow

* The alliance of the Rāstrakūṭas with the Arabs and the possible alliance between the Rathors of Kannauj with the Ghori are worthy of note.

communalism of the aboriginal tribes and clans invaded the social ideas of the ruling element. Each caste again, was subjected to the minutest subdivision on the principle of difference in occupation, in religious belief and through difference in domicile, and in course of time, each one of these castes and sub-castes became an air-tight compartment.

There was a decay in religion and this was closely associated with intellectual demoralisation. Abstract metaphysical principles or the real teachings underlying the ethical codes promulgated by host of religious teachers failed to impress the Indian mind which delighted only in concrete images or in the rigorous obedience to formalities and rites. The shadow came to be worshipped while the substance was lost sight of. Philosophy failed to impress the mass mind and ritualism obtained complete domination. Philosophers in their turn came into conflict amongst themselves and in the midst of the polemics of words and the conflicts of ideas, the first and fundamental principles were forgotten. The attempt at definition and interpretation gave rise to further divergencies among the philosophers and thinkers themselves and these in their turn helped the rise of numerous sects which distinguished themselves by their animosity to each other. The result was that for ordinary people there remained no other alternative but to find pleasure in gorgeous rituals and meaningless observances transmitted to them by their forefathers and of which the meaning was neither known, nor even regarded worthy of being enquired into.

Symbolism also invaded religion and along with sym-

bolism came in a host of newer deities with newer rites and practices, some evolved out of those of old, while the rest were borrowed from the primitive peoples or even the foreigners with whom the people came into contact. Innumerable deities were conceived from the different forces and aspects of nature with newer modes of worshipping them. Forms and images multiplied, everyday new rituals were invented and as these became more and more elaborate, religion lost its simplicity and faith its importance as the basic principle of religion. Evergrowing eclecticism maintained, the spirit of toleration and harmony, but the spirit of outer concord could not dispel the discord within the minds of men. Worship itself was invaded with gorgeous rites, and anthropomorphism carried to excess made room for ritualistic degradation and introduction of obscene practices. The truth of these remarks is apparent from the history of Buddhism. The philosophy of Buddha was hardly understood and even in the First Buddhist Convention we find differences arising out of flimsy points of ritual. Buddhism divided in time into innumerable schools and with the rise of Mahāyāna, the early tenets of Buddha were forgotten. Buddha himself was transformed into a God and the Mahāyānists conceived the omnipotent Bodhisattvas. These again were transformed into gods and innumerable deities male and female came to receive the worship from the votaries of a religion which had originally no scope for image worship or the veneration of idols. The different schools fought with bitterness while the masses sank lower and lower down in idolatry and obscene religious practices.

The same was also true of Hinduism. The *Bhakti* cult inculcated the idea of a personal God to be appeased by the votary by means of worship. These gods again became many and each one of them gave rise to innumerable forms through diversities of conception in its various aspects. The worship of these became popular and held out hopes of the future to the devotees. But soon this elaborate pantheon and the maze of the more elaborate ritual killed the spirit out of man's minds. The religious sects split up into sub-sects and these again became numerous and hostile to each other.

Along with the rise of this new religion, the ethical codes were also modified. The *Smrtis* inculcated the value of *ācāra* in human life and by means of *Arthavādas* harped on the hopes and fears of mankind to have these codes rigidly obeyed. Bodily purity became the key-note to this ethical code and as such the minutest regulations originally unknown, of food, touch and association were laid down. The principle of rationality was masked by a faith in the rigid code of taboos and prohibitions. Foreigners were looked down upon, contact with them became an abomination, and sea-voyages were prohibited. The *Purāṇas* while they did much to enlighten the masses socially and intellectually became the repository of this reactionary legislation. The *Śūdra* came to be denounced in opprobrious terms, women were socially and intellectually degraded while the lowest castes were relegated a position worse than that of animals or beasts of burden. And this stands in strange contrast with the time-honoured tradition of India. A people which worshipped the deity

in the female form, denounced womanhood in opprobrious terms, and while pantheistic philosophy delighted in regarding everything animate as the incarnation and manifestation of the superb all-pervading *Brahman*, its votaries struggled hard to be conscious that men were degraded by their contact with their socially degraded fellowmen!

Such being the prevailing mentality of the day, the priesthood also sank low in the intellectual scale. The Brahmin ceased to be the philosopher and became the slave of society, the guardian and protector of a code of life divorced from reason and morality. At the same time, the Hindu mind delighted in feeding upon its own excellence and the depravity of the rest of the world. Minutest regulations bound him down and these became obstacles to the continuance of a progressive life. The people became averse to changes and worshipped the past. The spirit of progress and rationalism was killed. Life was characterised by the rigid standard of rigour and artificiality and extreme aversion to change. Many of the religions of the later period emphasised those principles of life which weakened the physical frame and enervated the mind. Pacifism killed the ardour for war or national resistance. The extreme regard for life emphasised by Jainism made life almost impossible. The *Ahimsā* and *Dharma* of Asoka had laid prostrate India at the feet of the Greeks, Parthians and other semi-savage foreign races. The religious zeal of Harsa, the Neo-Asoka of the seventh century, did practically the same thing. Later Vaiṣṇavism manifested the same tendencies and brought almost the same consequences. It introduced a pacifism which in course of time tended

towards masochism. Man entirely at the mercy of the deity lost sight of active duties and craved for dissolution which became the only goal of life. Decayed Buddhism with its commixture of *Tantric* rites displayed worse tendencies. The nihilism of Buddha, too high for ordinary men and offering no hopes for the future gave place to a meaningless maze of obscene ritual but lacking in faith or reason as its foundation. The meaningless monasticism ate away the vitals of individual life and wrecked the morals of society. On many an occasion the monks displayed hostility to the political authority. Sometimes they made common cause with the foreign enemy and if we are to believe the testimony of foreign historians, they weakened the defence of the country by inviting foreign enemies.*

* According to Muslim historians Muhammad-ibn Kasim was helped by the Buddhists of Sind in his expedition against Dahir. According to Taranath, the Buddhists played a similar part during the invasion of Magadha by the Muslims (Taranath—Translated by Schiefner; Ch. XXXVII. The Buddhist monks are described as the messengers of the Turushkas.)

III

Muslim State System

Established in India the Mussalmans themselves became subject to the influence of the same forces which had influenced the Hindus. Within a century and a half, Islamic India became a medley of independent sultanates fighting against each other. It is curious to note how some of these states practically occupied the same location and geographical position as their predecessors in Hindu India, during the age of disruption preceding Muslim conquest. Thus, Gujrat which had remained under the Caulukyās, became a Muslim sultanate, similarly, Malwa of the Paramāras became an independent Muslim kingdom. In the east, Bengal separated itself under a Muslim dynasty and in eastern Hindustan, the Sarki sultanate of Jaunpore, very nearly corresponded to the Gāhaḍavāla monarchy. In the Deccan, the region occupied by the Cālukyās and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas became the seat of the Bahmani kingdom, while in the extreme south a Hindu national resurrection laid the foundations of the Vijayanagar kingdom established over the region, once dominated by the Pallavas and the Colas.

In the midst of an almost continuous war, the Hindus showed remarkable tenacity. For more than five centuries the onslaught of Islamic arms before which all other powerful monarchies had succumbed without a semblance of resistance failed to make a permanent impression upon the country. The Hindu resisted tenaciously during these

five centuries and even though subjugated, took the earliest opportunity of asserting himself politically. He succeeded not only in preserving his hoary culture but also in sweeping back the tide of Islamic domination whenever opportunities presented themselves. The wonderful vitality of the race and its unflinching tenacity to its own culture and tradition showed itself never more gloriously than during the period of struggle for existence. Throughout the whole of this period, we never find a continuous epoch of submission on the part of the conquered and no century passes without a movement for resurrection and political assertion in one part of the country or the other. The resistance of the Hindu and his tenacity was wonderful like that of a modern entrenched camp which shows new front—when the first lines and outworks are battered. In each century, we find national wars of resurrection. In the 13th century the whole of central and southern India together with states like Orissa and scattered principalities in the north still maintained their independence. In the 14th, within a few years of Muhammad Tughlak's conquests, the princes of Vijayanagar had flung back the side of Turki conquest and had laid the foundations of a mighty monarchy which checked further Islamic conquest in the south for more than two centuries. Similar was the case with Rajputana where the rulers of Mewar had not only asserted their own independence but were successfully resisting and conquering the Muslim sultans of the neighbourhood. In the 16th century, the Mewar Prince, Sanga was bold enough to make a bid for the restoration of the Hindu empire.

The failure of Sanga and the weakness of the Turko-Afghans gave a chance to a new line of Turks under Babar to found a new Muslim dynasty. Devoid of bigotry* and lacking the ferocity of the Turks of previous ages Babar brought with him the dream of a great empire. Unsuccessful though his son was to realise the ambition of his father, it was reserved for his grandson, the illustrious Akbar, to translate into action the dreams and ideals which had already manifested themselves in the activities of the early Mughals as well as of Sher Shah.

* Babar's recently discovered edict of toleration is worthy of note.

IV

Hindu-Muslim Rapprochement

The war for re-surrection was continued throughout the long centuries of Muhammadan domination, and its last phase was attained during the 17th century and even the 18th which saw the decline of Mughal rule and the advent of the English, later on destined to be the sole political power in the country. But in the midst of these struggles, while the extreme champions of Islam were engaged in fighting the staunchest of votaries of Hindu social and political regeneration, a remarkable movement was going on for the establishment of a rapprochement between the two communities. In the course of time, the ferocity of the Turki character which knew no mercy for the enemy even when he was a co-religionist or a kinsman softened down and the influence of Indian climate as well as social teachings made them almost Indianised. Among Hindus too there appeared teachers and saints who wished to divert the attention of men from the arena of political conflict to the path of peace, amity and good will. 'The deity was one' they said 'the Allah of the Muslims was none else than the Viṣṇu and Siva of the Hindus. Salvation was obtainable through faith in the sole omnipotent Almighty whose children the Hindu and the Muslim were. Bigotry stood in the path of man's prosperity in this life, as well as bliss and beatitude in life after death. Faith was the real essence of religion and not a fanatical devotion to the rituals prescribed in the rival religious systems and emphasised by fanatical priests on both sides.'

From the 14th century, such teachers made their appearance in the country and preached their ideas. Among the Hindu teachers of note was Ramananda who scrupled not to preach his religion to the untouchable or to the Muslim. One of this disciples was Kabir, by birth a Julah and a staunch votary of Viṣṇu. The next great figure was Baba Nanak who was acclaimed as a Guru of the Hindus as well as a Pir of the Mussalmans. The same tenets were disseminated by Śrī-Caitanya, the Vaiṣṇava teacher of Bengal. In the Deccan and in the south, many more such teachers were multiplied and they did much to calm down the ferocity and fanaticism of the extremists of both the communities.

Among Muslims, there appeared a host of such teachers—bona fide Muslims, not Indian converts. The verses of Sufis like Sanai of Ghazna, Nizami Attar of Nisapur, of Jalaluddin Rumi, Sadi, Hafiz, Mir Dard of Delhi, of Amir Khasru and of Ibrahim Jaisi became popular and are still sung by Hindus and Muslims alike. Rasa Khan's Savaiyas are still chanted in Vaiṣṇava temples. The catholicity of Ghalib of Delhi who would bury the Hindu at Ka'ba and cremate the Muslim at Benares, reflected the same mentality of toleration, amity and good will. To add to this, every student of Hindi literature is aware of the vast number of Muslim Vaiṣṇava poets. Among the Bengali Vaiṣṇavas, the following names are remarkable—e.g. Nasir Mahmud, Murtaza, Alawal, Ali Raja, Shah Akbar and Said Sultan. In Bengal, Muslims patronised Bengali literature, composed songs and verses in honour of the Divine Mother, and the process is still going on. The pro-

cess is not only remarkable but is characteristic of the mentality produced and fostered only in the soil of India.

This spirit of toleration led to a lull in the fighting and religious animosity was henceforth banished from the country. Muslim princes too became champions of toleration. Even Alauddin Khilji, denounced as a ferocious tyrant by the contemporary Muslim historians, recognised that religion had nothing to do with the business of the state but was something which concerned the soul of the private individual. The last line of Turki dynasties showed remarkable toleration, and Babar's grandson, though he began and ended as a staunch Muslim went so far as to adopt Hindu manners and customs and devised the *Din Ilahi*, the true religion intended for both the Hindu and the Musalman subjects. His son Jahangir followed the foot-steps of his father and there was calm in India for a considerable period. Then a number of causes and circumstances led to the renewal of the war of Hindu resurrection in the first half of the seventeenth century and in the midst of this there were reprisals on both sides which led to the downfall of the great Mughal empire. Even before the accession of Aurungzeb, denounced as a bigot by many historians, the Sikhs in the Punjab led by Har Govind defeated Imperial armies while Shivaji raised the standard of revolt in the Deccan. In course of this war, there were animosities and hatreds revived and during the period of conflict the tolerant spirit departed from the land for a while. The whole of India remained in commotion for more than a century and in course of this a number of Hindu states asserted their independence.

and showed once more the remarkable vitality of the Hindu race in politics.

The Hindus became active everywhere. The Rajputs resented the reimposition of the *Jiziya* and threw off the allegiance to the Mughals. The Jats repeatedly devastated the region near the capital and ultimately founded a small principality of their own. In the Deccan, the illustrious Shivaji (inspired by the great Rāmdas) and his successors laid the foundations of a Hindu state (modelled on the directions of the writers on polity during the close of the Hindu period) in course of the first half of the 18th century. The Marathas became powerful enough to think of a restored Hindu empire. But the weakness of the central authority, the separatist tendency of the feudatories and office-bearers and the lack of the spirit of consolidation led to the final break-up and the downfall of the so-called Maharatta confederacy, which in its hey-day stretched almost from the foot of the Himalayan hills to the *Krishnā* and the *Tungabhadra*.

The Gurkhas became active in the region of the Himalayan hills but their further expansion was checked by the rising British power. In the Punjab, which had for nearly a century been converted into the battle ground of foreign invaders, the disciples of Guru Govind made a bid for the establishment of a theocratic commonwealth. Perhaps there was an *atav*y of the old republican tradition among the Jats and the local tribes which had remained submerged for so many centuries. But this theocratic tendency could not maintain itself for long and the *Misl* leaders fought

amongst themselves for personal supremacy. The genius of Ranjit Singh succeeded in welding these divergent elements into a strong monarchy in which communal hatred was almost eliminated, though feudal principles continued to work. With the death of this illustrious man, the Sikh monarchy fell to the ground as a result of personal ambitions, the lawlessness of the army and the intrigues of rival families. With the fall of the Marhattas and the Sikhs English supremacy was fully established.

V

Socio-Political Evolution of India

In course of a long period of evolution India came to be the centre of a distinct type of social and political life. Communal freedom and harmony in the midst of diversity have been the marks of this civilization. In spite of racial divergences, linguistic differences and conflicting social and political ideals of the different sections of the community, a distinct cultural ideal came to be evolved and this gave a distinct stamp to the social and political life of India. She became and still remains the home of a distinct civilisation. Cultural harmony was the goal towards which all the conflicting ideas and ideals converged. The races were many; the languages were numerous; customs varied from province to province; consequently the social structure was a federated organisation in which there was a spirit of harmony which welded together these discordant elements. There was a sort of fundamental unity in the midst of insuperable obstacles to homogeneity. The seemingly heterogenous communities inhabiting the different corners of a big continent came to look upon themselves as members of a vast social fold. India was the homeland of this culture; and proved to be the geographical foundation of the civilization which stood by itself, self-continent and separated from other centres of culture. The great mountains and rivers were held sacred by the Hindus of the different parts of the country. Based on this sense of

geographical unity, the people came to profess religions which though differing in ritualistic details had the same intellectual *motif*, -the same type of explanation regarding the universal system and almost the same method of approaching the deity with a view to obtain solace in this life and salvation in that beyond. Thus, in all the religious and philosophical systems we find the prime conception of the omniscient and omnipotent *Brahman*, the acceptance of the doctrine of rebirth, the supreme importance of *Karma*, the excellence of *Ahimsā* and the recognition of *Jñāna* and *Bhakti* as the truest path of attaining salvation. In social life we had the acceptance of the federated organisation known as caste, in spite of innumerable local differences and conflict of ideas. In social matters, similarly, while local customs received the fullest recognition, the law-givers coming from the remotest corners of the country all tended to accept a fundamental equitable principle throughout the whole of the vast land. In art and in aesthetics we find also the same conventions, *motifs* and tendencies, though there existed local variations as well as provincial schools of building and architecture.*

In music also, there was the same thing. The diverse melodies favoured by the peoples of the different provinces all came to be united into one system of harmony and music. The names of *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* are suggestive.

* In art which was pre-eminently religious we have the same ideology and *motif*. In all the different schools of architecture the inlying idea as well as arrangements are the same.

Thus we have a large number of names derived from the different provinces of India.†

Social Evolution

India being the centre of a distinct type of culture had her own social and political ideal evolved as a result of the influence of a peculiar environment together with the peculiarities of the social and political genius of her people.

It has been the fashion with the western scholars to scoff at Indian political life, or to denounce the ideals which influenced her politics. India had no political life nor was there any room for political speculation in the country,—has been the summing up of many western critics. Her life, according to them, was essentially spiritual and there was a supreme neglect of the material side of human existence. Such has been the view of the majority of the western historians, while Indian social organisation has received a greater amount of censure from them. They point out the existence of the caste system, the tyranny of the Brāhmaṇic oligarchy, the subservience of the masses, the degradation of the womankind and last of all the existence of untouchability which deprives the lower classes of the status of manhood. This view is very often accepted without critical examination and the ave-

† Gāndhāra (from Gandhāra) Mālava (from Malwā). Gurjara (from the Gurjara country), Kānāḍā (from Karṇāṭa), Gauḍa (from Gauḍa), Jhijauti (from Jeṣākabhukti). Thus, while divergences remained pre-eminent a harmony in the midst of insuperable obstacles came to be evolved, and this has become the keynote and the soul of Indian life.

rage Hindu historian is compelled to swallow this *ex-parte* judgment in good grace. Obsessed as we are with the political supremacy of the west, we hesitate to analyse this criticism at all and the average Hindu dares not raise his voice against the uncharitable criticism on the part of the western critic. More lamentable is another tendency which impels Indian scholars to glorify the past history of their country by making an attempt to read European institutions into our system. During particular phases of Indian social and political evolution they are happy to find a parallelism and a similarity between the institutions of India and those of the west but beyond that when the Indian scholar finds any dissimilarity or divergence he finds himself at a loss to explain it as the result of different forces and factors operating in his own country. He straight on attempts to explain the diversities of Indian social and political life as something untoward and abnormal and hardly makes an attempt to explain their evolution as having been due to diversities in environment and the conflict of different racial elements. It has been the professed aim and objective of the writer to attempt a better and truer explanation of the diversities we meet in India and to interpret them as the result of those peculiar factors which invariably modify the course of political and social life under different environments. The value of environment as well as of the racial factor has received universal recognition to-day. Environment moulds life, and no one to-day dare deny its proper place in social evolution. The racial factor has also been given its proper place in life but while discussing

the political and social life in India these are entirely lost sight of and the judgment of the western critic comes first without an examination of the evidence at his disposal. Western ideas as well as western values guide us in our enquiry while out of fear and ridicule the true scientific method is entirely lost sight of.

In India, social evolution proceeded on a line entirely different from that of Europe. In the west, social life in its higher stage of development came to be associated with the idea of a social homogeneity based more or less on the principle of unity and equality within the communal structure. Inequalities and diversities existed more or less in all centres of life. These led to continual racial and social war within the fold of each community. This war ended in the political superiority of one section of the population which either obliterated or socially assimilated the conquered people. And even then there was no end to this racial war and the ideal of equality and homogeneity never became a reality. In Rome, the Romans remained a privileged race of rulers from which subject peoples extorted Roman citizenship as a result of a series of sanguinary social wars. Even at the end of these wars, the condition of the provincial was no more elevated than that of a slave. In Greece, there was the fiction of equality and social homogeneity, yet in each city-state the ruling community was only a governing minority dominating a more numerous population of aliens, *Metics* and slaves. Among the Jews, the chosen people of God there went on an eternal struggle with the Gentile and though for a time victorious Judaism attained a temporary ascen-

dency, the decline of the Jews reversed the whole state of affairs. The Jews themselves became a subject race while the hated Gentile and the foreigner became his master. The lot of the Jew during the long centuries following the dispersal of the race is too well known to be repeated here. Condemned to live in the *Ghettos* and liable to be plundered and slaughtered at will the Jew has ever since continued a deplorable existence and his present persecution in central Europe gives the lie to the European profession of justice and equality. In mediaeval and modern Europe, social homogeneity came to be attained as a result of sanguinary wars and revolutions in course of which was evolved the doctrine of equality from sheer political necessity. The rise of the nation-state, the value of the almost mechanised individual, solely guided by the interests of the state either for aggression or for self preservation, the importance attached to huge conscription armies where the uniform type of man, easily combines his energies all contributed to favour the acceptance of the ideal of equality. But political equality did not solve all the social questions and the true realisation of equality is yet to come as a result of further social evolution.

Furthermore, the profession of equality at home has not meant for the European peoples the grant of equality abroad. In their dealings with the coloured peoples and the aborigines in the African colonies we find an air of supremacy and a contempt for the conquered which is almost shocking. In almost all the extra-European settlements of the white races, the black, brown or red have practically disappeared and where they still exist, they

are absolutely deprived of political rights and are allowed to live only in arid districts where they enjoy some quasi-civic rights which have been conferred on them out of a sense of necessity.

In India, on the contrary, we had from the beginning such an amount of diversity in the racial factor that the ideal of homogeneity became something out of the question. The socio-ethnic difference between the Aryan and the Dravidian, between the Dravidian and the pre-Dravidian aborigines and between these aborigines and the paleolithic savages was so great that the idea of a homogeneous social structure could not be conceived at all. Race-prejudice which operated in the past and which operates so well even to-day in America, in South Africa, in recently conquered Abyssinia, and is so prominent in the dealings of the white peoples with the blacks, browns and yellows of the east and the south and which forms the key-note to the colonial policy of the white nations, asserted itself as one of the guiding factors in India. A war between the Ārya and the Dāsa took place in India as we know from the Vedic hymns. This continued for a considerable long period with terrible consequences for the defeated non-Aryans. But gradually, a better understanding developed and humanistic principles, respect for human life, a policy of tolerance for the creed and customs of others which have but only nominally made its appearance in Europe during the past century and which have as yet failed to make any real impression, operated in India from early times. As a result of this we find a tendency towards forming a social whole out of diverse and

conflicting elements. The Hindu wanted harmony in the midst of conflicting elements and a federative social organisation was the only thing which could grow in the country and thereby put an end to the other alternative of race-war and the extermination of the conquered. Such an organisation came into existence with hierarchical grades for diverse communities and with social duties and means of livelihood attached to each of them. In this way the principle of equality was sacrificed but in its place the lower orders received a guarantee for the protection of life and property and proper chances for the maintenance of life. This was, in short, the real explanation of what Europeans call caste system the prejudices and idiosyncracies associated with which call forth their sneer and perpetual ridicule.

The so-called caste system thus came into existence as the result of a long social evolution extending over millenniums. It has undoubtedly its defects. The exclusiveness of the communities at the top, their tendency to repel the lower orders and their hankering for political power together with the consequent disunion did great harm to the social fabric of India. It stands even now in the way of that potent yet aggressive type of social organisation called nationalism. But with all these, it was a practical and workable solution of a great problem which has gone on throughout history and is still going on all over the world, namely, the war of races and the sanguinary conflict of peoples always ending with the obliteration of the weak and the uncivilised. It allowed the weaker races the right to live and to contribute to the

social whole of which they came to form a part, though it subordinated some of their interests to those of others. The ideal of equality has been the watch-word of European thinkers but, in practice, this profession of equality has failed to solve the fundamental problem. The Hindu may be accused of prejudices and superstitions, of hatred and abhorrence but he can never be arraigned on a charge of wilful extermination of the conquered aborigines, as has been the case in lands settled by the white races in course of the last three centuries.* And this is proved by the evidence of the history in India. The most primitive races still survive here and still thrive with a vigorous and virile existence; whereas in the lands colonised by the white races they have all been wiped out of existence. Their relics have found place in the museums, where they evoke merely an antiquarian interest and prove the truth of the law of survival of the fittest.

In course of time the two higher castes, the Kṣatriyas and the Brahmins became prominent in the sphere of social life. The Kṣatriya attained power and position by his superiority in the exercise of arms with which he subjugated the rest of the community. The Brahmin gained the highest social position, by his intellectual superiority,

* Such has been the case throughout the whole of the lands colonised by the white races in course of the last three centuries. America, North and South, was once densely populated by the Indian reds. But now the red race has been practically wiped out of existence in the north though several tribes survive in the south. The Australian Bushmen are disappearing fast, while the last surviving Tasman died a few years ago. The Maories of New Zealand have been reduced to a few thousands, while in Newfoundland and many of the Pacific Islands, the original races have all passed out of existence.

his mastery of the sciences and the arts as well as by his ministration to the spiritual needs of people. The rest of society was divided into two broad compartments, one devoting itself to the production and distribution of the necessaries of life, while the rest either engaged in production itself or made labour its chief means of livelihood. Social harmony and balance was attained by vesting with social pre-eminence the Brāhmana devoted to intellectual pursuits and wedded to a life of poverty. Thus putting an end to the domination of the Kṣatriya based on the successful exercise of physical force or of the Vaisya deriving importance from his capitalist tyranny. The evils of capitalism engaged the attention of the builders of society as well as of the law-givers from very early times. Even the Vedic hymns give us a picture of the evils arising out of unequal distribution and the tyranny of capitalists.

Class War Averted:—While this broad division into castes did much to solve the racial question the evils of class war were, to some extent mitigated by the creation of economic compartments within the caste groups and entrusting each one of these with a peculiar function and means of livelihood. Many of the castes and sub-castes were organised on the model of self-sufficient guilds in which the members enjoyed a position fairly compatible with their existence as individuals. Thus, each caste-group could maintain itself against the tyranny of others and at the same time maintain the economic prosperity of the country. Even to-day when the great revolution in industry has taken away the chance of existence from many

of the caste-groups they are still struggling against the modern conditions. Unemployment and destitution was checked and at the same time the guilds and unions within the caste groups protected themselves by their associations.

The creation of a capitalistic aristocracy of optimates recruited from the rich men of all communities was also checked by allowing and preserving the accumulated wealth to remain in the different compartments. Hence a purely capitalistic domination which became a source of great social evil in most ancient communities was averted.

Timocracy Checked:—From time to time, adjustments and modifications were introduced with a view to putting a stop to the evils of unequal distribution or the evils arising out of capitalistic tyranny. A denunciation of capitalistic exploitation of the poor, unrestricted usury, or the cornering of food-stuffs soon made itself the key-note to the social policy of the lawgivers of the Dharmasūtra period, and it is also curious to note that unlike Greece, Rome and many other ancient societies timocracy never became an accepted principle in Indian society. Never was the position of an individual determined in society or in political life by the amount of wealth possessed by him. On the contrary, as is well known to all students of Indian culture, the possession of wealth was the lowest of social criterion or value, the highest place being given to learning and intellectual eminence.*

* Compare Manu Samhitā—II. 136

वित्तं बन्धुर्वयः कर्म विद्या भवति पद्ममी ।

एतानि मान्यस्थानानि गरीयो ययदुत्तरम् ॥

Caste organisation not rigid

The earliest social arrangements or the oldest assignments of economic functions, did not last long, but were modified in course of time. Invaders and emigrants from outside were admitted into the fold of the Hindu social system. Even the aboriginal people as well as outcastes were gradually assigned a place in society and had their status elevated out of necessity. The rules of endogamy or exogamy were not so rigid and thus there was an easy periodic self-adjustment which satisfied the changing requirements of society. Occupations were changed without difficulty and the vigor of social life was not obstructed. But this did not last long and the epochs preceding the Muslim conquest as well as the period of Muslim domination saw the continuous working of these reactionary tendencies which culminated in the narrowness of the intellectual outlook, debasement of the spiritual ideal and the introduction of stagnation and rigidity in social matters. The conception of the semi-rigid Varnas was displaced by that of air-tight caste-compartments which split up Indian society into a vast total of narrow communal groups existing only for themselves and utterly oblivious of the interests of that whole to which they belonged and to whose normal life they were to devote their energies. In the face of foreign invaders who menaced not only the political existence of the Indians but tried to subvert their social system, the desire for self-preservation, brought in a staunch belief in the past. The old flexibility disappeared and disintegration set in. As stated already, difference in occupation, religion or domicile led to the ramification of this high total of caste

groups. As the members of the different caste looked to their own narrow interests, this caste spirit well nigh led to the disintegration of Indian society.

Absence of equality

In this type of social adjustment, the idea of equality was evidently absent or perhaps it was not a necessary factor at all, since there was the law of *Karma* which explained the causes of inequality—inequalities of birth, inequalities of social privilege, inequalities of economic prosperity and, last of all, in the amount of happiness enjoyed by different individuals. The belief in *Karma* and rebirth has been one of the psychological factors in the history of Indian culture. For, if personal ambitions, class hatred and other factors did not fail to contribute to social unrest, wars and revolutions, the masses as a whole remained content with their social lot and in the midst of the turmoils and vicissitudes which disturbed the peace of the country such a contentment was a great boon to the people of India.

But it had its peculiar quota of evils. Society in India tended towards a neutral equilibrium and socio-economic

* Here something requires to be said about the idea of equality in India. Like Leibnitz, our Indian thinkers from the days of the Vedic hymns became more familiar with the absolute want of equality in nature, rather than with the contrary idea (which occasionally finds expression in the writings of a few religious writers). The Vedic seer clearly notes the inequality in nature and explains it rather beautifully—"the calves of the same mother differ in milk-bearing capacity—the fingers of a man's hand are not equal" (R. V. X. 11.) What impressed him most was that there existed a similarity in the desires and aspirations of men but as men or the circumstances in which they lived differed materially, their desires varied in quality and in quantity. So all Indian thinkers pleaded for equity, which was their watchword.

life to a sort of static sufficiency divested of movements or upheavals of classes. The result has been that in the midst of the vicissitudes of fortune, India while she retained her outward prosperity, lost to a great extent the impulse for progress. Consequently, she became weakened and during certain periods, the spirit of advancement or progress was nullified altogether.

The Individual in Society :—

As stated already the compartmental division of the community came to be strengthened by the assignment of social duties and means of livelihood. Each community or class with its peculiar duties assigned, contributed to the normal working and welfare of the whole system, each functioning as the limbs of a living organism. Society depended upon the co-operation of the classes and its happiness as well as that of each of these limbs depended upon the normal working of these latter. In a primitive but progressing society this type of organisation did much to prevent the growing class war and the domination of accumulated capital or the rise of a capitalistic aristocracy. For the government and the proper working of the class-limb, regulative authority was vested partly in the individuals, above him in the family and higher up in the class or the caste-group. The customs and conventions of each received proper social

In Europe, the theory of equality gained ground from political necessity and from the fact that as it was difficult to measure the potentialities of men, equality in the absence of a standard for measuring potentiality was a rough method of appraising the value of individuals.

recognition and contributed to social solidarity. A certain amount of autonomy was thus vested in the different limbs of the social whole.

Forming part of the autonomous limb, the individual was to devote his attention to his own self-realisation, consistent with the welfare of the whole of which he formed a part, namely, preservation of life, acquisition of the means for self-preservation and the advancement of the family interest, propagation of the family without detriment to the other members of the community, enjoyment of acquisitions and devotion to higher intellectual and spiritual pursuits. These aims, summed up as the *Puruṣārthas* or *Caturvargas*, defined the social and intellectual limits of the individual. The individual was looked upon by the law-givers as the primary unit and basis of social life, the foundation of material welfare and the soul of organised existence. As the well-being of society depended on his activity and co-operation, and the maintenance of the social order, the highest emphasis was laid upon it and the maintenance of this order was regarded or looked upon the primary function of the rulers of society.

Subject to limitations, the individual enjoyed a requisite amount of freedom to mould his own destinies and to work out his salvation. But this freedom was not unrestricted and was far from the modern concept of liberty. The Hindu was obsessed with the idea of a 'natural' order and could not think of any material aberration from the accepted canon and conventions of life. In his eyes, the freedom enjoyed by the individuals was merely the free-

dom of movement compatible with the normal working of the social order and vested in him along with his social functions and duties.

The greatest possible emphasis was laid upon the individual and in India the individual received a higher recognition than in any primitive or mediaeval society. The concept of the individual and his rights was subjective and not objective. The individual in India was not a mere means but an end in himself. The maker of his own destiny, solely responsible for the merits and demerits of his own in this life and in that beyond, he was an end in himself. Almost all the great teachers made the greatest efforts to have the individuals perfected. The governmental organisations guaranteed his life and promoted his earthly interests. Subject to the social regulations, he was to make efforts for the fruition of his moral, intellectual and spiritual aims. Moral duties and spiritual obligations other than those enforced by the state were assigned to him. He was to contribute his social, moral and spiritual quota to the well-being of humanity in general by attaining mental and moral discipline, by procreating and maintaining a family, and spiritually by carrying on the sacred studies.

Beyond these duties, partly self-incurred, and partly imposed on him by the social convention the individual was free. No king, no state was to demarcate or demonstrate or dictate to him his mode of existence, his aesthetic sense or the path of his spiritual progress, by laying down his religious creed and forcing him to accept it by punishing its violation. And, this is remarkable in a country where the people were not only religious but

also assigned a high place to the spiritual element in life. Such was the social outlook with regard to the individual, and this was rather peculiar to India.

Women :—In the peculiar socio-economic system the position of women was very high—perhaps higher than that enjoyed by the fair sex elsewhere in the ancient and mediaeval world. In the Vedic age, women were equals of their brethren, for we find them carrying on higher intellectual pursuits, participating equally in sacrifices along with their husbands and exercising supremacy in their households. India excepted, no other country in the ancient world assigned to women so high a place in social and intellectual life.

This continued until the latest days of the Vedic and Epic period and even during the age which saw the composition of the canonical literature of the Buddhists. But after that, there was a reaction which was ushered in by the premature mass movements of the succeeding period and the evil effects as well as the unsocial tendencies of monachism, which well-nigh assailed the foundations of social existence or the peace and happiness of conjugal life.

The reaction led to a constant harping on the evils of women's freedom and the consequences arising out of it. Women came to be looked down upon as naturally deficient in intellectual powers and also liable to be swayed by evil examples. Hence laws were made to retain them under tutelage and they lost many of their social rights—e.g. the freedom to carry on intellectual pursuits or the right to own property in their own right. Perhaps during the age of re-

action, the Greco-Roman ideal of perpetual tutelage of women strengthened the social sentiments which are reflected in the pages of the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra* and other later condifications (See *Supra* II pp. 129.)

Yet many of the vestiges of their rights and privileges remained. Women continued to hold property in their own right and there was hardly any bar to their holding the regal office or the exercise of regal functions and duties, as have been pointed out already.

The State:—Existing side by side with this social organisation and exercising almost co-existent functions with it and absorbing as well as regulating the energies of the community came the state organisation.

A comprehensive definition of the state is lacking in the older records, but Kaṭilya seems to emphasise the human element in it (“पुरुषवदि राज्यं अपुरुषा गौर्वन्ध्येव किं दुहीत”) and following him all Hindu lawgivers assign the greatest importance to this personal element in it. In their eyes, the state comprised a territory inhabited by a community with the object of maintaining life and property with a view to pave the way for the fruition of man's material objectives. The Hindu concept of the state was rather very wide though it lacked the technical precision or definition imposed by modern writers. As the social outlook was very comprehensive and society did not stand for a narrow and homogeneous structure, the early concept of the Rāṭ was wide and all-embracing. It lacked the narrowness of the city-state or the limitations of religion and custom, and overstepped from the beginning the limits of a conquering tribe or a victorious clan. The object of the

state, as we have pointed out already, and as we shall discuss later on in detail, was primarily to pave the way for human self-realisation in the material or the socio-economic sphere.

One of the salient features of this Rāj was the erection of a disciplinary organisation vested with powers of chastisement so as to keep the individuals and communities free from aberrations within and disturbances from without. Its functions were primarily social and economic and secondarily political, if we are permitted to use that word.

This original Rāj concept was later on masked by subsequent ideas and developments relating to the Rāstra but it retained some of its underlying principles to the last.

Economic Aspect Emphasised :—The maintenance of the socio-economic fabric was the primary duty predominating in the concept of Rāj. The individual living in society was an end in himself and the object of the governmental organisation was primarily to guarantee a free scope for the fruition of his material desires and as this was dependant on the maintenance of order, the power of checking evils or punishing wrongs came to be associated with it. In the oldest hymns, the ruler is called upon not only to protect life and property or to encourage agriculture and the handicrafts which were the chief means for the gaining of livelihood on the part of the people but also to guarantee life and prosperity to them. As time went the political authority became more potent but these economic considerations received greater attention as is to be

seen in the ideals and objectives of the teachers who devoted themselves to the study of Artha Veda of which the Arthaśāstras formed a school.

Economic duties absorbed the major attention of the head of the state machinery and in India we find that the greatest attention was devoted not only to the active promotion of agriculture and industry but also to the suppression of capitalism. This being the dominating idea, the Indian people were not slow to arrive at equitable adjustments of social profits. The claims of the labourers received recognition in very early times and the schedule of customary profits which we find recorded in the Arthaśāstra as well as in the Epic, testifies to the high social wisdom of the Indians.

They were not content merely with granting equitable profits to the workman but were determined in their opposition to cornering and capitalism. Usury came to be condemned even before the age of the Dharma-Sūtras while in the Arthaśāstra we have not only a condemnation of capitalism but the promulgation of a drastic code for the suppression of profiteering on the part of the capitalist who took the earliest opportunity of exploiting the poorer sections for the further enrichment of himself. The regulation of prices and profits, the control of the commodity market and the punishment of the greedy merchant who was looked upon as a 'burglar in disguise,' testify to the peculiar ideals of the race. In the rest of the ancient as well as mediaeval world, timocracy came to be the basis of political power. But in India mere possession of wealth never gave a place of honour to an individual.

The condemnation of capitalism was not the peculiar ideal of ancient India. The plea of social solidarity remained predominant in the country, the life of the individual was considered as something sacred and rulers were enjoined upon to see that no one lost life on account of poverty or want of food. From the earliest times, we find kings building alms-houses, keeping stock of corn for times of distress and taking emergency measures for the protection of life in times of famine and scarcity. The king's duties lay not merely in chastising the wrongdoers but also in finding sustenance for his subjects. That was the essence of *Pālana*. The Smṛitis eulogise in the highest terms a king who performed these duties properly while the distress of a king's subjects was regarded as the result of the king's own sinfulness. In the Mahābhārata, such a king is condemned to a life in hell while the prosperity of a king's subjects was an indication of his future welfare in Heaven.

The peculiar Indian ideals of social solidarity not only made it incumbent on a ruler to do his utmost for the safety and prosperity of his subjects but also emphasised active duties of assistance on all the individual members of the community. From the Vedas downwards munificence is praised while niggardliness was a sin which paved the way to hell. The later Smṛitis carry these ideas further. They denounce a man who spends too much on himself, as a thief who robs other people of their share of social profits and some of these go so far as to promulgate the doctrine that morally speaking a man has not the right to enjoy or amass any-

thing beyond that which is absolutely necessary for him.* Almost ultra-socialistic as these passages appear to be, they may not be taken very seriously. But this type of idealism influenced the codes which were in acceptance in the country and we have more than one passage that a man committing theft of foodstuffs for the preservation of his life was not to be regarded as a wrongdoer at all.†

Many of the ideas which were evolved in more ancient times found expression in the writings of Kautilya, the greatest exponent of the Hindu theory of government. His socio-economic aim have been discussed by many modern writers. He stands for an economically self-sufficient state capable of maintaining its population and governed by a ruler who, by his ownership of the great national sources of wealth, was to confer the maximum of material benefits upon his subjects. Many of the items included

* Innumerable are such passages in the Smṛitis and Purāṇas. We quote a few of them—

यावद्भियेत जठरं तावत् स्वत्वं हि देहिनाम् ।

अधिकं योऽभिमन्येत स स्तेनो दण्डमर्हति ॥

The ideas are very old. The meaning of *Anna* (food) is significant. *Anna* or food unless given to others will eat away the householder. See also *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (I. 5. 2) where we find the passage एकमस्य साधारणमितीदमेवास्य तत् साधारणमन्नं यदिदमद्यते See also commentary on the passage (cf. अप्रदायैभ्यो यो भुङ्क्ते स्तेन एव सः ।)

† See Manu VII—341

द्विजोऽध्वगः क्षीणवृत्तिर्द्वाविंशु द्वे च मूलके ।

आददानः परत्वेनात् न दण्डं दातुमर्हति ॥

See also *Parāśara Mādhavya* (A. S. Edition P 304) Three verses quoted are significant. A man starving for three days can take as much as would enable him to satisfy his hunger without being punishable for theft.

among the duties of the king show clearly the extent of welfare which the people expected of their ruler. The Arthaśāstra code gives the lie to the modern writers who denounce the weakness of the Indian in his political genius and show the author of the Arthaśāstra to have been a man of universal genius, who could think for all times and ages and for all stages of society and who could anticipate the problems which are before the statesmen and rulers of our times. His plea for social solidarity was remarkable for he did not confine himself to the hide-bound traditions of an unprogressive social existence. He admitted many sections of the aborigines into the folds of Hindu society and went so far as to break the chain of the slave while his great contemporary in the Hellenic world was justifying slavery as a divine institution.

The Political Machinery

The perennial social conflict as well as the ever increasing complexities of social life contributed to the strengthening of the authority of the chief who was entrusted with the duty of dispelling foreign enemies, of maintaining order within the community and who became later on the most important factor in the working of social life. At one time as stated already, he represented only the solidarity of the tribe and the unity of the body politic. Perpetual war and an alliance with the priesthood gradually elevated him to a position higher than that of the ordinary tribal leader. With the enlargement of the tribal territory and with the gradual elimination of the rivalry of his own kinsmen, the king's authority became

supreme and unquestioned. With the acceptance of the principle of hereditary succession, security of tenure was brought in. And as time went on, the idea of sovereignty, universal and indivisible, came to be evolved. The primitive Rāj, became identified with the Rājan and the king became the universal ruler of the tribe and the master of its territories as well as natural resources, subject only to the customs and conventions which were deemed sacred and of which the moral guardianship came to be vested in the Purohita—the King's "alter-ego"—and the priesthood who preserved and transmitted from father to son the traditions and ideals of the tribe. As time went on, the regal authority was consolidated though occasional instances of irresponsibility continued to be checked by tyrannicide or social ostracism. The identification of the Rāj or the Rāṣṭra with the sovereign authority of the Rājar led to the formation and the elaboration of the political concept of the state.

Monarchy extolled:—This monarchical state which was evolved in the Kuru-Pāñcāla region became the ideal of Hindu political thinkers. All other forms of Government namely, republican tribal states, democratic gaṇas as well as oligarchic confederations gradually disappeared. The wider Rāṣṭra idea undermined the narrow basis of clan rule and monarchy which put an end to class war or caste conflict and which paved the way to a lasting social adjustment in the midst of discords was welcomed on account of its maintenance of a stable social life not easily disturbed by class upheavals or clan rivalries.

The evolution of the idea of state in India was the result of a long and continuous process and its relation to the social structure was peculiar. While the social organisation busied itself with the maintenance of the social structure the formulation of the social will and the elaboration of the moral ideal, the political organisation devoted itself to the protection of society from outside attacks and the elimination of the conflict of classes or the violation of the social rule on the part of the individual,—elements which were detrimental to man's safety and progress.

Theories of the origin of Society and Government :—

Almost all Indian accounts agree in attributing the origin of sovereignty or government to a contract. Man dictated by instinct or natural law must live in society in order to ensure his personal safety. Once society is established, conventions come into existence and the conduct of men are to be subjected to a regulative authority. For the observance of these, the necessity of a coercive power is felt as due to aberrations in human conduct, which, owing to the influences of desire or greed, make individuals or classes go against the common weal. Aberrations are produced by the obliteration of *Dharma* which, according to the Indian conception, is an objective reflection emanating from the *Rita* or primordial principle of moral order running through and through the universal system and evolving the right line of conduct in the individual man.

At one time this *Dharma*, according to most accounts, guided the actions of men, but as men became influenced by greed and vice, society was on the decay. To regulate

the normal working of the right principle *Danḍanīti* or the code of coercion was evolved. It regulated human conduct by awarding punishment for violation of the social canon and by conferring rewards upon the virtuous. It thus became the external bond, which in the absence of *Dharma* went to ensure the existence and progress of men in civil society. The right to award punishments was naturally vested in the state which guided the external relations of men.

The basic idea in the promulgation of *Danḍanīti* (or regulated violence) was primarily the maintenance of order and not the elaboration of freedom as with the modern Western thinkers. The working of this 'law meant an equitable opportunity granted to each member of the state by defining and safeguarding him and his relation to the whole. This concept of order was based on that which was supposed to run through the universal system.

Scope of State Action :—

The realisation of this order meant that the individual must have a free scope for the fruition of the aims of his life and that his life must be guaranteed and at the same time opportunities must be furnished so that he can bring his life to perfection. In the words of Fichte—"to live and let live" became, from the earliest times, the motto of the state. Hence the scope of the state action became from the material point of view fully comprehensive, and it included active help and encouragement to industries and the efforts of the individual by which he was to maintain himself. The regulation

of the arts of life, agriculture, trade and commerce all came within the sphere of the state action and this was from a very early period. Such ideas are present even in the inaugural hymns of the Vedic period and we have practical illustrations of this in the Jātakas, the Epics and the Purāṇas.

The state thus became something more than a police organisation. Its chief aim was the realisation on the part of its members of all possible benefit as far as the material aspect of life was concerned. The normal working of the whole social organism with its diverse elements came under its superintendence. Consequently, its activities was not confined to the bestowal of benefits on a particular class or section. It was conceived as a true commonwealth which stood for the happiness of all. Its government transcended all considerations of class rule or monopoly for a dominant majority as with thinkers of the modern age.

The State and morality :—

The intimate connection of the state with law and order give it a clear and close association with moral ideas. But there, too the relation which subsisted was a peculiar one. The Hindus conceived of morality as something higher than a set of rules laid down by the political organisation guiding the external conduct of men and thereby ensuring their success in this world. Rather than this, they took into account the finer elements of consciousness in the individual discriminating between right and wrong and which exist apart from progress or

deterioration in this life. It was thus something which depended on the development of the inner man. The state could but control external actions, and could hardly establish a real moral standard.

But moral self-realisation was possible only in a state of freedom from the engrossing influence of the materialistic world. The state by maintaining order simply ensured the individual's freedom to realise it. Consequently, the state was the means, which paved the way for the development of morality rather than the supreme expression of morality or order as was the prevailing idea of the Greeks or as some of our Western idealists like Hegel would have it.

The State Not An End But A Means :—

The most important point for us thus is to note that the Indians regarded the state solely as a means, and never looked upon it as an end in itself. In this connection divergences existed in the past and exists even to-day between the Indian and the Western outlook. The Greek with his aesthetic concept of life, constantly thought of realising his ideals in an organisation, which could not only solve his ethical problems but also help him in realising his highest goal. The centre of the Greek culture was man, "Yet not man unqualified but the noble man—man aesthetically considered." With them the individual and the state stood in the closest possible relation. The state was the individual magnified, while the individual was "the state in miniature". Consequently the ideal state was the *summum bonum* of Greek

existence. Everything was merged into it,—the citizen's life, his social existence, and his political activity.

In India the state of affairs took a different turn. The Indian philosopher, like his Western brethren started with the individual, and it was to give him the highest amount of benefit that the state was conceived. But, the concept of life, as well as that of the individual was different from the beginning. In a society dominated by the idea of *karma* and rebirth, the life of the individual, was regarded as something more than an existence in the realistic world. It was intimately connected with something transcendental. It was nothing more than a mere phase in a greater and higher existence. Neither enjoyment nor sorrow in this life was its end. It had a higher spiritual purpose.

In man were detected elements of higher consciousness apart from his ordinary desires, his worldly needs and aspirations, the longings of his animal instincts and the frailties of his flesh. Such an analysis led to the concept of the *Caturvarga* (or the *Puruṣārthas* or the desires of the individuals) namely, *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Mokṣa*. For the fruition of the first three which comprised the material objectives of human life a peculiar social and regulative arrangement was conceived. The individuals' life in society was regarded as a bundle of duties and aspirations. To perfect this life, a disciplinary training was given in its four stages and this was independent of the state. At the same time, the material aspect was also taken into consideration. For his life, the propagation of his race, and the attainment of his desires man must be

intimately related to the material world. The furtherence of this object became the aim of the political organisation.

The state thus was not, and cannot be regarded from the Indian standpoint as an end in itself but was a means to a greater end—namely man's self-realisation and his attainment of salvation.

Forces in the evolution of the state and religion :—

The influence of the transcendental idea and the principle of morality in Indian life makes the average Western observer think that the Indian state ideal has been moulded entirely by the religious ideas of the people. Outwardly, religion seems to have exercised an overwhelming influence. A closer examination, however, reveals that with the exception of the early Vedic and the Brāhmaṇic period, the influence of religion on the development of the Indian state has been very small. In that early age the influence of religion was immense; the *Purohita* acted as the *alter-ego* of the king. He was regarded as the *Rāṣṭra-Gopa*. The king, too, offered oblations on behalf of the community. Later on, however, religion did not play an active part. Its service was entirely passive.

Even this statement may appear paradoxical, especially when we meet with the maze of rituals and the vast array of ceremonials, the mass of formulæ, the continuance of the *Purohita's* office and the preponderance of the Brahmin in the council of the king.

Yet careful enquiry bears out the truth of the remark. Nowhere in the history of Indian culture we find

a similar conception of religion as is to be found in the west or in the Semitic countries. We in India never had nor still have, a religion in the sense in which it is used in the west. We have only our social system which holds together different communities professing their belief in one common moral standard and in some common philosophical tenets. This social system was at once too narrow in many points and too catholic. The supposed preponderating influence of religion appears to be almost nil. The Indian mind freed itself early from the shackles of dogma. No attempt was ever made to set down hard and fast rules for the religious observances of the people. Philosophic toleration came in along with the ever-increasing insight into ethical and moral considerations. Religion lost very early its primitive character as a bond of union. Higher speculations as regards the cosmical world as well as the quality of the soul undermined a fanatical partisanship of dogma and ceremonial. The state too lost its real connection with religion even at the earliest phases of its growth. What remained was but an outer garb of ceremonial and it was allowed to exist, partly because we have in the Indian mind a veneration for the past and a love for the traditional customs of our forefathers.

The state never became a theocracy—Owing to this lack of an intimate relation between religion and the state, the latter could never take a theocratic turn. It was never thought that the state should come forward and prescribe rules for the religious instruction of the people. A man's religion or his belief was not taken into consideration in determining his place in the *body-politic*. There was hard-

ly any room for that, since the Rīṣis themselves differed in their philosophical tenets and the great philosophical systems manifested divergences on vital points. All this emancipated the state from the influence of religion. Ecclesiastical supremacy as conceived in the West was denied to the head of the state. As a result of this we have in India hardly any wars about religion, no crusades, no inquisitions—no religious animosity, no feeling of hatred for followers of other religion, and India became a refuge for men whose religion had led them to be persecuted in their own lands.

Nature and Limits of the functions of the state:—

So much for the characteristics of the state. We may now make up for the deficiency caused by the lack of definition of the state. In our view the state may be regarded as the highest political organisation for the well-being of

* *Conflict of Ideals*—The above concept of the state was the product of conflicting ideals. A deeper enquiry would convince us that not only there was a conflict of opinions due to differences in viewing the problems of life from different aspects, but that two ideals—and those of two races—were in conflict, e.g., the ideals of the Brahmin and that of the Kṣātriya, the two races, who by their co-operation and also by their conflicts did so much to evolve the various aspects of Indian culture. Closely connected, the two races had contributed to the glories of India. The latter stood for dominion and expansion—the former for systematisation and order. The one thought for the community as a whole, the other for the individual. The one stood for collectivism, the other for individual effort; the one for obedience, the other for self-realisation; the one for the will, the other for reason. Out of this struggle emerged the peculiar concept of state and of its duties and functions. The Kṣātriya ruler yearned for his sovereignty “indivisible and absolute;” while the priest contended for the total emancipation of society from politics. Out of this came out this harmonious compromise.

the community, so far as the material aspect of life was concerned. The Indian mind, so prolific and original in many directions, displayed its originality in its conception of the state. That institution never came to signify the highest form of existence or the most perfect machinery for the mental and moral elevation of man. The aim and object of Indian culture was to evolve the highest types of humanity and to enable the individual to attain his own ends namely the fruition of the four objectives Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa. They did not circumscribe the scope of its action, nor limit the exercise of its sovereign powers simply to police work; nor did they invest the state with powers too extensive to deal with the individual as it liked. They saw clearly the sphere to which its actions might safely be delegated, without circumscribing the scope of action of man's superior nature, and in this the state was allowed a free exercise of its authority. In all other spheres, the activity of the state was circumscribed. In one sphere they allowed the state free activity, while in the other the individual was allowed free play. A clear distinction was made between the two. Man was regarded both as a means and also an end. In the first instance, man must look to the well-being of society, would help others and be helped in helping himself. Herein he came under the full scope of the state activity. His maintenance, his opportunity for self-realisation, protection of his life and property—everything was delegated to the care of the state but beyond this, the jurisdiction of the state came to an end. In matters of higher development, the state had

had nothing to do. The individual was fully emancipated. The rights of the state, were, again conceived as being far from absolute. They were limited and thought to be merely arising out of contract. Political idealism did not carry its concept to that logical fineness which we find in the state-concept of the Westerners, both ancient and modern. To the westerner, the state remains even to this day the highest institution which the genius of a man could devise—a thing which would bestow the highest benefit on man. But to the Indian the state has never signified this idea. It was, as we have seen, a means to a great end. It never became with them the highest God on earth.

Influence of Social and Spiritual instincts of the Race

Thus we see that in the development of the state, the peculiar ideals of India spritual and secular, contributed their quota. The safety of the individual and his material prosperity were its chief concern. In conceiving the state, moreover, they pre-supposed the existence of fundamental institutions and organic laws and these could not be disturbed. The social ideal too, was regarded as sacred. The state could not meddle with these and society was left with a certain amount of autonomy to evolve its own working. Each section or group worked for its own. Absolute equality never became a political necessity. The sole aim of life was never identified with the desire for the settlement of equal benefits in the material sphere.

This latter circumstance has indeed stood in the path of progress in the modern sense of the word. But judged by effects, the state as conceived by Indians had many re-

deeming features. Of these the most important were its wide scope of action and the absence of rigidity.

The Indian state had a scope of action which was not narrow. It would admit within itself men of all castes and creeds irrespective of their origin, customs or religion. Foreign elements with diverse religious and social ideas came and settled in India and thus added to her strength. In the days of India's political greatness the state presented to the world this high and noble ideal.

Greek Ideal Contrasted

Herein it bears a great contrast with the Greek ideal of state. The fine idealism of Greek culture confined the state within the limits of the city—nay—to the governing element of that small community. The ideal was rigid—it could not expand. Greece for ever remained divided into narrow and isolated communities; the ideals of humanity were to her confined to the city and hardly had any room for expansion. Such an ideal continued to exist till the last days of her existence and when the genius of the semi-barbarian Macedonian attempted the expansion of the Hellenes, the Hellenic ideal lost itself in the midst of the barbarians whom it had vanquished and felled to the ground.

The only redeeming feature of this narrow ideal was its tendency towards the strengthening of the bonds of solidarity among the members of this small community. In India, such a solidarity was indeed lacking. The widest possible divergences were allowed to exist among the communities; mutual rivalries too, existed but there was

hardly any attempt to bring all the sections to a common rigid standard. Rather than have unity the Indian delighted in diversity. The craving was for a harmony in the midst of differences. Yet her ideals were nobler and higher. There was no lack indeed of that narrow patriotism, nor were there no germs of a narrow nationalistic ideal, which made her people often look upon outsiders with contempt and suspicion; but there ever was the presence of the human and cosmopolitan ideal, which we can not find elsewhere—not even in civilised Europe—until we come to the middle of the last century or the dawn of the present.

These two characteristics are worthy of note. They give us not only an insight into the Indian ideas of state, but throw some light on the chief ideals which influenced politics.

India in decay has forgotten her past. She is now the butt of ridicule with the Westerner, who denies her a place in the history of the political development, mocks her pacifism and scoffs at her tenacity to the past.

Yet history will prove that in India arose those political ideals which looked more to humanity than to the solidarity of the narrow social group. Here it was that conscience was freed from dogmas. Here it was that oppressed nationalities found refuge from time immemorial. Here it was that men could live side by side in spite of differences; here it was again that the germs of cosmopolitan ideals first manifested themselves—ideals for which the thinkers of our own civilised modern age are sighing in vain.

Type of State Organisation and Government

With such a social organisation and with such a peculiar conception of state authority the tendency was towards a stable equilibrium in social life. The authority of the king, which had increased from the earliest times to the Maurya period, was devoted to the performance of those duties which were calculated to put an end to class war and the conflicts between different groups. The economic policy of the state was directed towards the grant of equitable opportunities to the different sections of the community. This nullification of class war, though it could not be regarded as having been of ideal perfection led to the elimination of perennial strifes which characterised social life in the city states of Greece or that during the early phases of the development of Republican Rome. Politics in its original narrow sense did not develop within the Indian social frame, and even during the complex stages of evolution, class-war or timocratic evolution, never characterised life in India. To counteract it, the functions of the state or rather the functions of the king and the governmental organisation, became very comprehensive and embraced all the different activities connected with the material existence. But within the framework of the governmental organisation or rather along with it, society retained an autonomy and a sort of parallel existence which still characterises Hindu social life. This independence and autonomy, though it could not be regarded as having been of ideal perfection helped the Hindus much to maintain themselves inspite of the loss of

political independence occasioned by the Muslim conquest of India.

The autonomy granted to society and its quasi-independent existence did not stand in the way of progressive evolution or retard the adaptability of the Indian people to changed circumstances. Conservation and self-preservation was attained partly through the agency of religion and the aristocratic social organisation. Violent changes could not be introduced all on a sudden and the will of the multitude was never recognised as being the most pre-eminent social force, as in the Western countries. This had its drawbacks but the non-recognition of this popular will as the potent force in all social movements did much to preserve the individuality and the culture of the race. Compared and contrasted with the political theories which gained ground in Europe in the last two centuries, there was much that stood in the way of the individual and his supposed political rights. Whether this was worthy of universal condemnation is yet to be seen. Political experiments in the west have not yet ended and new economic factors introduced by scientific inventions adding to man's power of exploiting nature and to the potentialities of the individual are still operating. Democracy today is an accepted principle but democracies have now been found to be incapable of solving all the problems of man.. The conception of man's primary rights is being seriously challenged everywhere. The liberty of the individual which was the war-cry in all revolutions is proving to be nothing more than a myth. Everywhere democracy is giving place to dictatorship and dictators

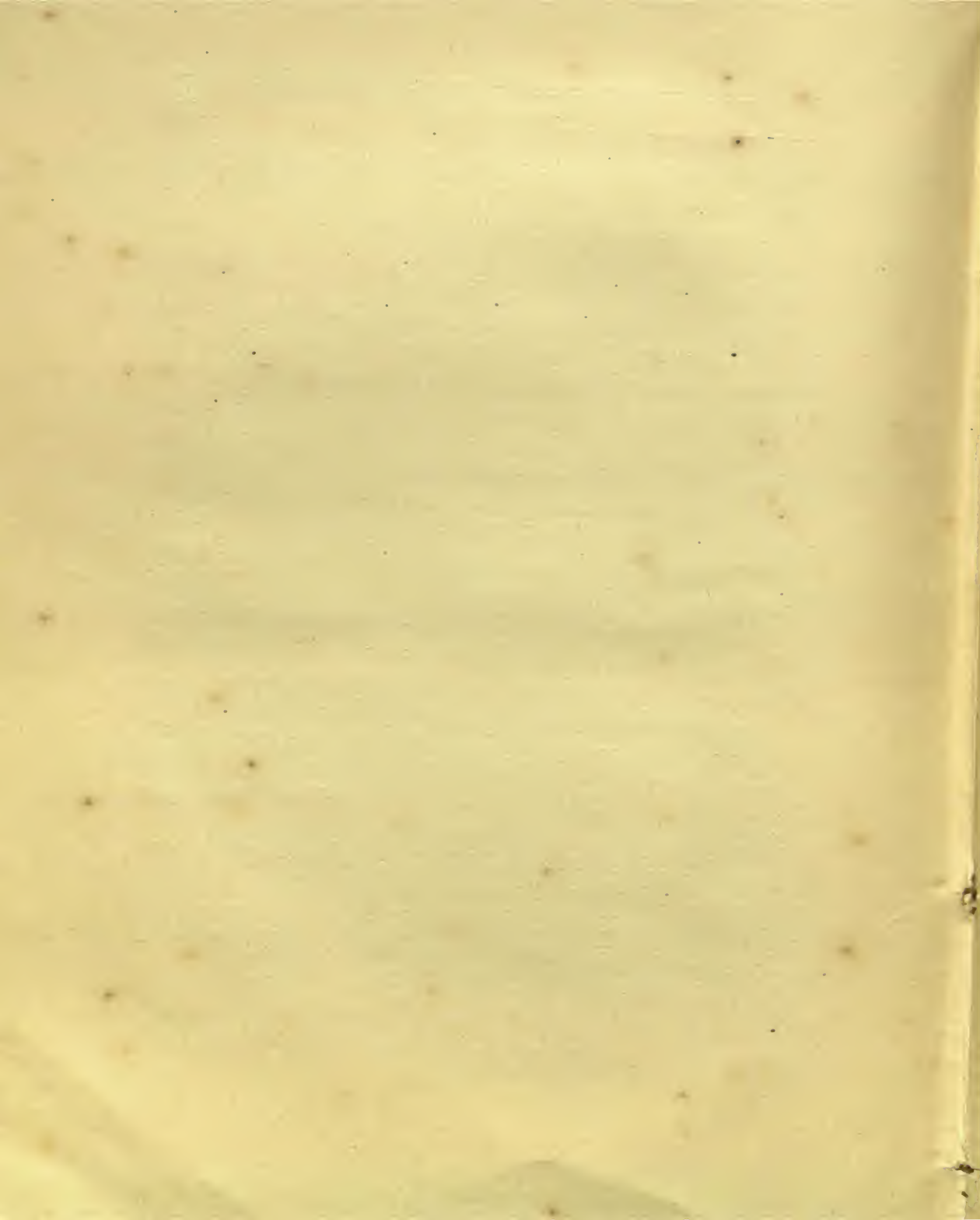
while professing to be the agents of popular will are doing their best to make themselves more autocratic than the autocrats whose authority they have subverted.

Germes of Nationalism :—

Nationalism in its modern sense did not exist in India nor in the rest of the world. But we have vague ideas of a common socio-political group deriving strength and solidarity from the unity of the race and the adoption of the same language, manners and customs. These ideas are found first in the Arthaśāstra but owing to the weakness of the political power, the constant changes of allegiance, the ever-varying boundaries of the state—they failed to take root in the soil. But as pointed out already, the different provinces in India tended towards becoming quasi-national units. (Supra II pp. 181-3). The muslim conquest brought a new consciousness in opposition to the invaders.

In course of the war against the Muslim rulers national sentiments and consciousness arose in the different parts of India, namely, in Mahārāṣṭrā, in the Punjab, in the South and in Rājputāna, and this has already been pointed out.

Under British rule the horizon of political aspirations has cleared and national consciousness has grown in all the parts of India. This militates to some extent against the old Pan-Indian idea, but still it is a force which will go a long way to the political regeneration of India.



Epilogue

Thus far the author has attempted a brief survey of the political life and aspirations of a race which has in the midst of many vicissitudes managed to preserve its individuality and lives yet to bridge the vast gulf between that hoary antiquity which saw the dawn of its culture and the modern age of science and progress that has revolutionised the very outlook of human existence and thoroughly reshuffled the social life of mankind.

Of all the ancient civilisations, that of India still subsists and with all her political deterioration she can offer still to the new world the Gospel of social peace, religious toleration and political harmony in the midst of almost insuperable differences. In the domain of politics proper she can still offer the ideal of a paternal state, looking to the material welfare of all classes of its subjects and extending its protection to peoples of different creed or culture—a state which looks to the adjustment of the claims of labour in opposition to the exploitation of capital, rising high above the conflict of classes or the arrogance of party groups.

The culture of India is very old but its prolonged existence has not exhausted her intellectual vitality, her energy or productivity in the material sphere of life. Even to-day India is producing some of the finest specimens of humanity taking their rank with the best representatives of the West in the domain of science, philosophy, literature, law

and politics. This shows that neither the race nor its genius is exhausted.

India has yet a future, and with a little reshuffling of her social structure and a reorganisation of her rightful forces she will be ere long on the way to gain her rightful place in the society of nations.

For the present her social and political outlook is not so clear as any believer in her destiny would expect. Suffering from the evil consequences of economic ruin, social disintegration and the conflict of classes there are very few signs of her ever increasing social solidarity. To add to these, there are disruptive tendencies within the fold of her social life, heightened by the outbreak of communal conflicts between the great communities inhabiting her. This last has been the result of the nullification of the rapprochement between the two great communities in India as well as of the forcing of the religious question into the domain of politics.

But let us hope that all these disrupting tendencies will cease to operate and that the present conflicts will end in a closer understanding and that those prejudices and vagaries characteristic of our present-day rural life giving rise to political narrowness and social intolerance will cease to exist. Then the vision of a greater and re-united India will come before the eyes of her people.

With a view to regenerate India the different sections of her people must give up their narrow angle of vision and unite for a common national purpose. In solving her problems they must be actuated by the dynamic western ideal of progress and social expansion. But we must not

entirely loose sight of the principles which had in the past contributed much to the evolution of India's social and political life. Mere imitation of the West will not solve her problems but will bring instead the catastrophe of a communal war and perennial racial hatred. But a policy of harmony and social co-operation evolved out of the best traditions of the past will lead us to the path of consolidation and progress.

In the midst of conflicts and turmoils, there is still hope. Perhaps the long expected federation of the peoples and provinces of India into a great commonwealth will be a reality, though for the present under the aegis of the suzerain power.

Once united in a common purpose, India will march ahead and throw off the shackles of past prejudices and present impediments. She will take her place in the front rank of nations and contribute her quota to the peace and progress of humanity.

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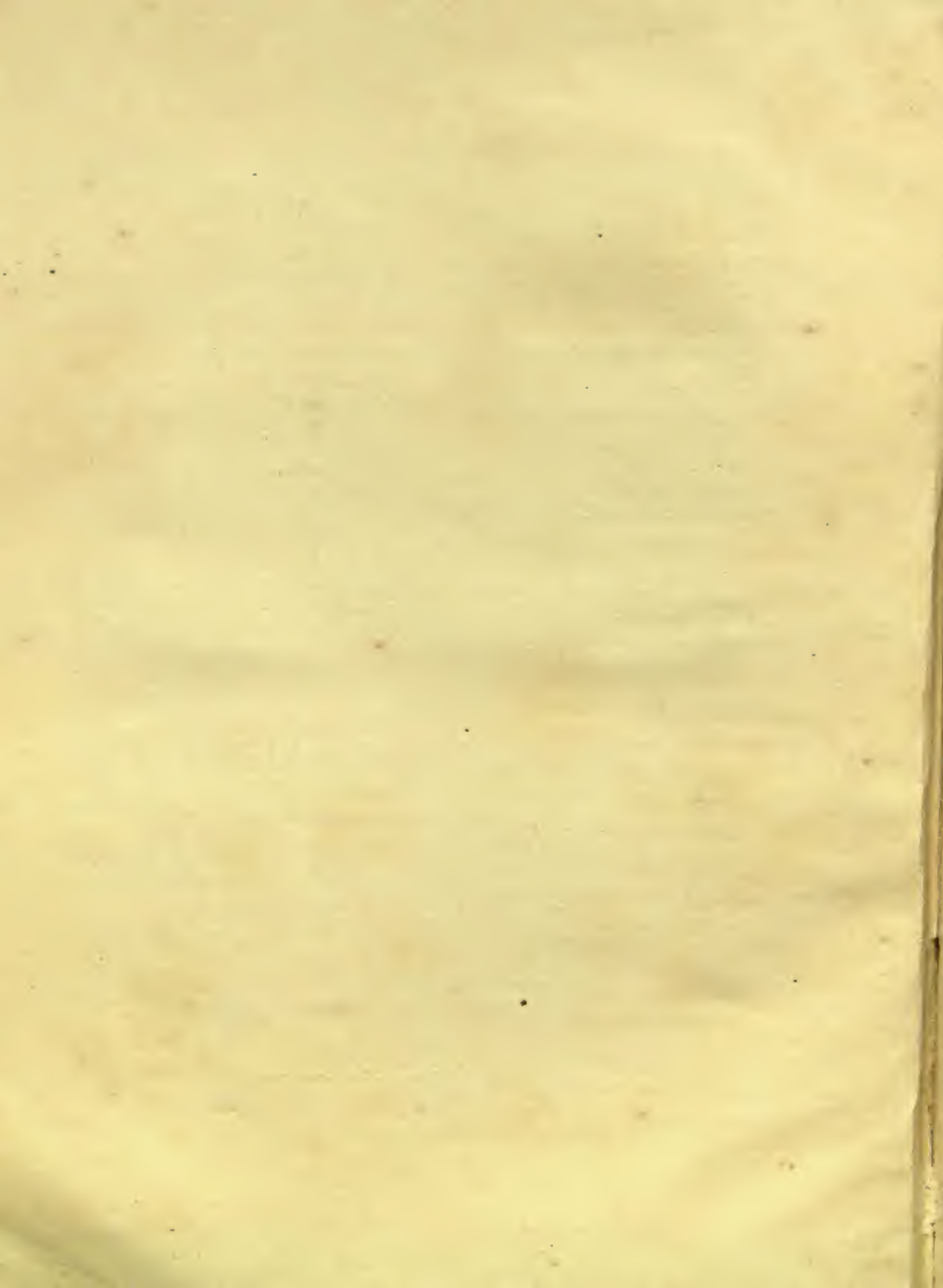
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 Yajurveda—(Yaj.-Sam)
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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

It is unfortunate that a large number of micprints especially in connection with diacritical marks has crept into the book. So, this list of important errors is here appended. Some additional informations and notes also find place in this list. For some of the corrections in the notes added to pages 150-162 I am indeebted to Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sarkar M.A. Ph D. of the P. G. staff.

P. 9, Line, 20. The Sophytes—was the name of a king or a nomarch ruling over a tribe of people east of the Jhelum. Greek writers like Curtius speak of the wisdom and the peculiar institutions of the people. The Sophytes coins bear the head of a king and the figure of a cock on the reverse. The late Dr. Jayaswal was inclined to take the Sophytes "as a republican area with a republican institutions." (Hindu Polity pp. 65-66). The author regards them as a monarchical state. Perhaps the political condition of the Sophytes was in a state of transition.

P. 13, L. 17. Read—Aria in place of Asia.

P. 16, bottom. There is an unfortunate omission of the words
"uplift of the people were."

P. 17. That Northern India was split up after the decline of the Mauryas into a large number of monarchical or tribal states is proved by the evidence of the numerous coins which were issued by the local authorities in various parts of Northern India. Some of these might have been issued by the Suṅgas who were the most powerful dynasty after the Mauryas. But there can be no doubt from the numismatic data that the idea of paramountcy declined after the downfall of the Mauryas. The all-India character of the punch-marked coins would justify the attribution of many of them to the Mauryas. The author's notice has been drawn to this by Mr. Jitendra Nath Banerji M.A. of the Post-graduate Teaching Staff.

P. 97, L. 4. Read—divisions or spheres in place of the word *littorals*—which is inappropriate here.

P. 103, N. 2. Mr. Harit Krishna Dev, M.A., has tried to prove that the tradition of the Vikrama Era being founded by a King Vikrama or Vikramāditya of Malwa is borne out by epigraphic testimony. The era was founded by the Sātavāhāna King Gautamiputra Sātakarni who, according to the author was the original of the traditional Vikramāditya. The Nasik eulogy

contains the word "Vara-vāhana-vikrama." For H. K. Dev's paper, see—*Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*: Leipzig 1922. pp. 255 ff.

- P. 118. Foot Note. In connection with the Kāyasthas (about which the views of Kumar Asim Krisna Dev Bahadur has been quoted) it is significant to note that Citragupta, the traditional ancestor of the Kāyasthas, is described as wearing flowing robes and boots (after the persian model?). For this the author is indebted to his colleague Mr. Jitendra Nath Banerjee M.A., of the Post-graduate Teaching Staff.
- P. 115, N. 12. Pulakeśi II ruled from C. 611-642 A.D. and not upto 633 A.D.
- P. 151, N. 15. Dr. Vincent Smith & not Sir Vincent Smith.
- P. 153, N. 18. The date of the capture of Herat by Yakub—I-Lais, the Saffarid, is A. H. 256 or about 870 A.D.
- P. 154, N. 20. Bhoja's date is 836-882 A. D. and Mahendra-pāla's 893-907. A.D. North Bengal was probably included in the kingdom of the Pratihāras at the time of Mahendra-pāla I, as is known from the recently discovered Paharpur Inscription.
- P. 156. N. 22. The capital city of the Chālukyas, namely, Kalyāṇī was founded by Someśvara I—(1042-1068 A.D.)
- P. 159. N. 23. The khajuraho Inscription of Dhanga dated 954 refers to Vināyaka-pāla as his overlord. A later Candella record shows that Dhanga defeated the Partihāra king during the later years of his reign and obtained Sāmrajya.
- P. 161. N. 28. The last prince of the house of Sultan Mahmud, namely Khusru II, reigned till 1186. In 1191 he was sent to Ghor and put to death about 1205.
- P. 161. N. 29. Prthivīrājā Chāhamāna was defeated by Shahabuddin Ghori in 1192 A.D.
- P. 162. N. 31. The Khairha grant of Yasah-karṇa, dated in the Kalacuri year 823 (A. D. 1073) proves that Karṇa must have died before that date.
- P. 163. N. 34. The Machhlisahar Inscription of Jayaaccandra's son Haris-candra and the Belkhara Inscription of a feudatary of the Gāhaḍavālas both dated in V. S. 1253 (1196-97 A.D.) prove that the whole of Jayaccandra's kingdom was not annexed by Shahabuddin Md. in 1193.
- P. 164. N. 37. Vira Ballāla III. was crowned on 31st January 1192 A. D.,
- P. 164. N. 28. The Materu Inscription of Prolarāja shows that he ascended the throne sometime before S. 1042, or 1120 A. D.
- P. 165. N. 39. According to a Vizagapattam record Ananta-varman Coda-ganga ascended the throne in 1078 A. D. An Arasavalli Inscript-

tion belongs to his 72nd year while another is dated in his 73rd year. (S. 1069 and 1970). He therefore ruled upto the year 1147. A.D.

- P. 117. L. 5-6. For the sack of Kanauj by Indra III see the Cambay plates of Govinda IV. (E. I. vol. VII. pp. 36).

P. 186. L. 11. }
also } Read Kalacūrya in place of Kalacūrya.
P. 192. }

P. 190. The Sena emblem was the figure of Sadā-siva.

P. 192. Read in the footnote the verse from the Bhoja-Prabandha.

क्राता तिष्ठति कुन्तलेश्वरमुता वारोऽङ्गराजस्वसुः ।

यूतैजिता कमलया देवीप्रसादाधुना ॥

इत्यन्तःपुरमुन्दरीजनगणे न्यायाधिकं ध्यायता ।

देवेनाप्रतिपत्ति मूढमनसा द्वित्राः स्थितं नादिकाः ॥

Vātsyāyana speaks of the functions of the Vāsaka-pāli and of Vāsaka-sajjā.

P. 196. L. 27. Read within bracket R. T. V. verses 432-435 and not pp.

P. 198. L. 7. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's paper on Chandragupta II and Rāmāgupta has been published in the Malavya Commemoration Volume.

P. 202. L. 9. }
and } Read Koṭā Devī in place of Koṭadevī.
P. 203. }

P. 202. „ 27. The reference regarding the Kashmir king Brhaspati is wrong. It should be R. T. IV. 672-687.

„ „ 28. The reference should be R. T. IV. 710-711.

„ „ 29. Read caṅkuṇa in place of caṅkuma.

P. 204. It is worthy of note that the Hindu lawgivers laid down the maxim that the throne should never remain vacant.

P. 208. L. 26. Read Kuvalayā-piḍa and not Kuvalayāditya.

P. 209. L. 27. Reference should be R. T. V. 266-277.

P. 212. L. 7. Read Mudrādhyakṣa.

P. 215. L. 20-23. Read the pannaya tax; also read Melvaṭṭeṇa Vaddaravelu; also read perjunka in place of peajunka. See Fleet. D. K. D. pp. 449-451).

P. 216. L. 11. Read Bāhattara always.

P. 218. L. 1. For Phalguna's recall see R. T. VI. 198-214.

L. 2. Vijja was exiled and his brothers and friends imprisoned. King Harṣa put two of his father's ministers to death.

P. 219. L. 18. Read Āgrahārika in place of Agrahārika-

P. 220. L. 1. Read Dāṇḍika in place of Daṇḍika.

P. 439. L. 4. Read National in place of rightful.

SOME OPINIONS AND REVIEWS OF PART I

Dr. A. B. Keith—Edinburgh.

The effort to connect the development of polity with the evolution of theory is valuable and important, and you have collected and set out lucidly a large number of interesting facts. There is no doubt that even in its incomplete shape the appearance of your book is fully justified, and that it presents something not included even in the many useful books on Hindu Polity which we already have.

Dr. E. J. Rapson—Cambridge.

You have collected and arranged the available evidence with great care and your discussion of the bearing of this evidence is fair and well-informed. I shall find your book most useful for reference.

Dr. L. Finot—Toulon, France.

I appreciate particularly in your treatment of the matter, the excellent selection of texts and the sound appreciation of their meaning and value. It is certainly an excellent contribution to the study of a topic beset with difficulties.

Dr. F. O. Schrader—Germany.

On opening your book I was struck by the soberness of your method and having perused a few chapters I may say already that the book is an extraordinary and admirable one.

Dr. L. D. Barnett—London.

I have read your book with interest and care. There is much in it with which I fully agree and.....I fully appreciate the merit of your book.

Dr. F. W. Thomas—Oxford.

Clearly, Mr. Banerjee is dealing with the subject in a comprehensive way and presents the evidence in its full amplitude. He does not fail to show that he has views of his own for which he is prepared to contend. Hope that the subsequent parts of the treatise will be equally well-done.

Dr. Julius Jolly—Wurzburg.

The author shows himself learned both in Sanskrit literature and the views of modern scholars. His criticisms are well substantiated and his style is clear and lucid.

Dr. Sten Konow—Oslo, Norway.

I have read your book with interest and I much appreciate your perspicuous and elegant style and your clear argumentation.

Dr. R. K. Mookerjee—Lucknow.

I have gone through Mr. Narayan Chandra Banerjee's 'Development of Hindu Polity and Political Theories' and found it to represent the same level of scholarship as marks his other works. His acquaintance with the source in its original gives a freshness and fidelity which is not found in other works. His work marks Mr. Banerjee out as one of the best interpreters of early Indian institutions.

Dr. Ganga Nath Jha—Allahabad.

Your books are judiciously planned and carefully executed. Please accept my hearty congratulations on your handling of a subject, the study of which is still in its infancy.

Forward.

Without exaggeration, it can be said that the book is one of the best on the subject. The author develops his arguments point by point with a happy sense of discrimination. His knowledge of world-history enables him to draw fitting parallels from extra-Indian sources. Written in a lucid style, free alike from pedantry and from cheap popular clap-trap, the book should please the lay reader and satisfy the technical scholar.

Journal of Indian History.

Professor Banerjee is a good sanskrit scholar and is the author of a number of interesting works. His work is full of interest and will profitably pay persual.

The Asiatic Review—London.

The author has done his work with great care and his frequent quotations from the classics will assist the scholar and the student in verifying his arguments.

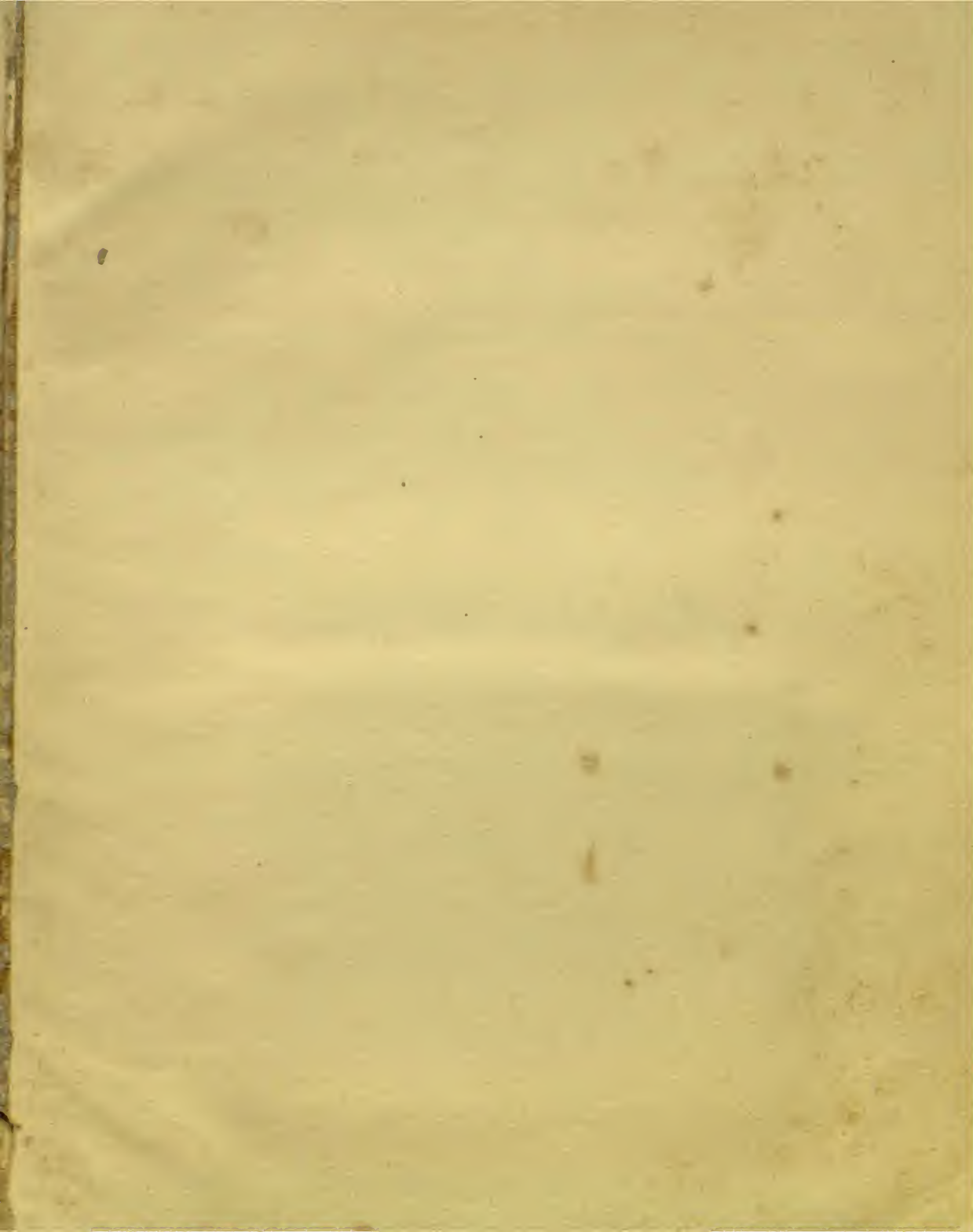
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society—London.

The work is one of distinct merit. Mr. Banerjee has handled his difficult themes with an ability and sobriety that deserve recognition (Barnett).

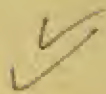
The Mind—London.

The author has done an important service in emphasising the transcendental ideal as influencing political thought.....and is probably the first to do so in this field. He has also rightly combated the theory held by many writers that in India kingship was regarded as a divine institution. On these points, the book suggests a new line of investigation and clears away many misconceptions. The writer is well acquainted with Sanskrit and can handle texts properly. We hope Mr. Banerjee will carry his investigations further in the proposed second volume.





See pt I



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